

THE
ANALECTIC MAGAZINE.

(NEW SERIES.)

COMPRISING ORIGINAL REVIEWS, BIOGRAPHY, ANALYTICAL AB-
STRACTS OF NEW PUBLICATIONS, TRANSLATIONS FROM FRENCH
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SEPTEMBER, 1820.

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By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. 1 vol. Republished at New
York, from the Glasgow edition.

(Continued from p. 102.)

IN the second sermon, the author further illustrates the depravity of human nature, and the inaptitude of the natural mind for understanding the truths of the gospel, from a consideration of that charge of mystery, which is frequently urged against those truths. Human reason, unassisted by divine grace, takes so dim a survey of the justice of God, as to be unable to discern the equity of that sentence, which pronounces an indiscriminate condemnation on the character and conduct of the whole human race, considered in themselves. Proud of the distinctions by which society separates the approved citizen from the victim of violated laws, and object of common contempt, men, in general, are unwilling to believe that all partake of a common nature, which is exposed to the denunciations of divine wrath. Satisfied with those moral acquisitions, which secure the respect and attachment of others, men are disposed, by nature, to turn these to good account, as the means of securing the favour of God, and are shocked at the idea that a new and a further effort is necessary. To have to explore the unknown,

and rugged track of revelation, a track which appears to terminate in no adequate object, when it conducts the despised and the honourable man, in the same attitude of suppliants, to the foot of the cross, is a task highly offensive to carnal pride and reason. How can the unrenewed mind comprehend those doctrines, which declare this step to be necessary? How can it do otherwise than regard them as irrational and mystical?

That a great majority of those who are usually denominated the most respectable class in every civilized community, have this opinion of the Christian religion, is a fact too plain to be doubted. For, to what other cause can it be owing, that so much indifference prevails among the fashionable, the great, the wise, and the wealthy, to the Christian cause? Did such men as these devote their talents and their influence to the support of religion, what a wonderful revolution would take place in the aspect of society? But instead of this, they are content either to view with disgust, indifference, or with distant and formal respect, the revelation of God's will to man.

When a man, touched, as Christians believe, by the operations of the spirit of God, and led to seek the divine favour, as his chief good, gives up the idols of pleasure, wealth, fame, or wisdom, to which he had hitherto consecrated all his powers, and endeavours to devote them to the service of his Creator, he engages in a task, in the view of which frail human nature is ready to be filled with dismay. The same power, however, which has begun the work in his heart, will carry it on to perfection, and will give him strength and courage to overcome every obstacle. Among these obstacles, the opposition furnished by men destitute of religion, is among the most formidable, and is noticed, incidentally, by Dr. Chalmers, in this sermon, of which it does not form a part of the main argument, though it illustrates the ignorance on the subject of religion, which results from the depravity

of human nature, in unrenowned minds, and which prompts the accusation of mystery.

It may well appear to be a conduct unworthy of rational creatures to exhibit, throughout life, an indifference, or aversion to religion, and to recur to it, on a death-bed; yet we believe this to be a course exemplified in daily experience. Nor is it fair to suppose this to result from an imbecility of mind, accompanying the wreck of the body; for we apprehend that in so interesting a situation, calculated to call forth the strongest powers of the human soul, more dignity is frequently exhibited than at any other period of life. Xenophon makes Cyrus, at such a conjuncture, discourse in terms, which, on the part of a heathen, we cannot but admire; and Tacitus has put in the mouth of the dying Germanicus, a speech which evinces the greatest calmness of mind. Dr. Chalmers gives the following testimony, derived from personal experience, in relation to the conduct of men on these occasions.

‘Secondly, let us assure the men, who at this moment bid the stoutest defiance to the message of the gospel,—the men whose natural taste appears to offer an invincible barrier against the reception of its truths,—the men who, upon the plea of mysteriousness, or the plea of fanaticism, or the plea of excessive and unintelligible peculiarity, are most ready to repudiate the whole style and doctrine of the New Testament,—let us assure them that the time may yet come, when they shall render to this very gospel the most striking of all acknowledgments, even by sending to the door of its most faithful ministers, and humbly craving from them their explanations and their prayers. It indeed offers an affecting contrast to all the glory of earthly prospects, and to all the vigour of confident and rejoicing health, and to all the activity and enterprise of business, when the man who made the world his theatre, and felt his mountain to stand strong on the fleeting foundation of its enjoyments and its concerns,—

when he comes to be bowed down with infirmity, or receives from the trouble within, the solemn intimation that death is now looking to him in good earnest: When such a man takes him to the bed of sickness, and he knows it to be a sickness unto death,—when, under all the weight of breathlessness and pain, he listens to the man of God, as he points the way that leadeth to eternity,—what, I would ask, is the kind of gospel that is most fitted to charm the sense of guilt and the anticipations of vengeance away from him? Sure we are, that we never in these affecting circumstances—through which you have all to pass—we never saw the man who could maintain a stability, and a hope, from the sense of his own righteousness; but who, if leaning on the righteousness of Christ, could mix a peace and an elevation with his severest agonies. We never saw the expiring mortal who could look with an undaunted eye on God as his lawgiver; but often has all its languor been lighted up with joy at the name of Christ as his Saviour. We never saw the dying acquaintance, who, upon the retrospect of his virtues and of his doings, could prop the tranquillity of his spirit on the expectation of a legal reward. O no! this is not the element which sustains the tranquillity of death beds. It is the hope of forgiveness—it is a believing sense of the efficacy of the atonement—it is the prayer of faith, offered up in the name of him who is the captain of all our salvation—it is a dependence on that power which can alone impart a meetness for the inheritance of the saints, and present the spirit holy, and unreprieveable, and unblameable, in the sight of God.'

Throughout this sermon, we think, there prevails a great cogency of argument, accompanied by copious and clear illustration, which evince the author to be eminently gifted for the office which he fills.

In the second part of the third sermon the way is described in which the spirit of God reveals the truths of salvation to the mind of the inquirer. It is not possible for us, in our present limits, to give more than a sketch of that masterly

picture to which we cordially refer our readers. The general method is described to be a conviction, that, however human duties are attended to, the affections of the soul are not consecrated to God, nor is the whole conduct ordered with reference to Him. The mind is internally occupied with the objects and the pleasures of this world, while the great Author and Giver of all things is forgotten. The inquirer is pointed to the atonement of Jesus Christ as the remedy provided for the removal of this alienation of the human heart, and, when applied, of winning the affections to our Creator. The following extract points to the disease, and the remedy.

‘ Let us therefore reflect that the principle on which the peculiarities of the gospel look so mysterious, is just the feeling which nature has of its own sufficiency; and, that you may renounce this delusive feeling altogether, we ask you to think, how totally destitute you are of that which God chiefly requires of you. He requires your heart, and we venture to say of every man amongst you, who has heretofore lived in neglect of the great salvation, that his heart, with all its objects and affections, is away from God,—that it is not a sense of obligation to him which forms the habitual and the presiding influence of its movements,—that therefore every day and every hour of your history in the world, accumulates upon you the guilt of a disobedience of a far deeper and more offensive character than even the disobedience of your more notorious and external violations. There is ever with you, lying folded in the recesses of your bosom, and pervading the whole system both of your desires and of your doings, that which gives to sin all its turpitude, and all its moral hideousness in the sight of God. There is a rooted preference of the creature to the Creator. There is a full desire after the gift, and a listless ingratitude towards the giver. There is an utter devotedness, in one shape or other, to the world that is to be burnt up,—and an utter forgetful-

ness, amid all your forms, and all your decencies, of him who endureth for ever. There is that universal attribute of the carnal mind—enmity against God; and we affirm that, with this distaste in your hearts towards him, you, on every principle of a spiritual and intelligent morality, are as chargeable with rebellion against your Maker, as if some apostate angel had been your champion, and you warred with God, under the waving standards of defiance. It was to clear away the guilt of this monstrous iniquity that Christ died. It was to make it possible for God, with his truth unviolated, and his holiness untarnished, and all the high attributes of his eternal and unchangeable nature unimpaired, to hold out forgiveness to the world,—that propitiation was made through the blood of his own Son, even that God might be just, while the justifier of them who believe in Jesus. It is to make it possible for man to love the Being whom nature taught him to hate and to fear, that God now lifts, from his mercy-seat, a voice of the most beseeching tenderness, and smiles upon the world as God in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, and not imputing unto them their trespasses. It was utterly to shift the moral constitution of our minds,—an achievement beyond any power of humanity,—that the Saviour, after he died and rose again, obtained the promise of the Father, even that Spirit, through whom alone the fixed and radical disease of nature can be done away. And thus, by the ministration of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, does he undertake not only to improve but to change us,—not only to repair but to re-make us,—not only to amend our evil works, but to create us anew unto good works, that we may be the workmanship of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. These are the leading and essential peculiarities of the New Testament.'

The fourth sermon is taken from Job ix. 30,— and is entitled 'An estimate of the morality that is without godliness.' The description of the situation of Job, pressed down by

afflictions, doubting his acceptance with God, and having an obscure revelation of a Mediator, is touching and impressive. The preacher places the great defect of that obedience which man can render in his own strength, even to the extent of external religious duties, on the want of all homage of the heart to God. There may be even a pleasure in the public offices of religion, resulting from habit, or from attendant circumstances, which is lost in the exercises of the closet. Yet we are not to abandon the performance of duty, from a sense of its inefficacy before God. The preaching of John was attendance to moral duties, but he also pointed to that Saviour who alone could obtain for man acceptance with God. From the very constitution of our nature, we are endowed with certain moral feelings and principles, which God has implanted, in mercy, as necessary to the subsistence and well being of society, by the due exercise of which we enjoy much gratification, obtain the praise of the community, and the rewards which it has to bestow. But might not all these principles exist in our world, had God deprived us of the knowledge of Him altogether, and thus condemned us to hopeless and absolute atheism? And is the revelation of Himself which he has made, to make no difference to us? Are our affections, and our powers to remain consecrated entirely to the objects and pursuits of this world, without being raised to Him, and devoted supremely to His service? Are we not worshippers of those things on which our whole heart is fixed; and so long as these are earthly objects, do we not stand convicted, to our own consciences, of idolatry? Such is a sketch of the argument of this discourse.

The fifth sermon is entitled 'The judgment of men, compared with the judgment of God,' from 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4. The preacher illustrates this subject, by the example of Job, who confidently appealed to the judgment, and challenged the applause of men, yet professed his utter unworthiness in the sight of God. The man who stands fair in the opinion

of the community, is prone to think that he is blameless before God, and blind to any apprehensions of vileness and guilt, lives on, in insidious security, neglecting the salvation of the New Testament. But this opinion is founded on the double ignorance of, 1st. The superior claims of God; and, 2d. His clearer and more elevated sense of the holiness due from man. These points are exemplified in a connected train of argument, which concludes with a view of the general judgment, at which no mortal will dare to give testimony in favour of the doings of any of his fellows. This excellent sermon is, we think, well worthy the attentive consideration of those many amiable men, who, sensible of being occasionally actuated by selfish motives, yet profess that, on reflection, they approve and practise disinterestedness; who cannot admit a sense of their unworthiness; who have not found leisure, amidst the attention to their social duties, to investigate religion; and who are fearful of falling into the error of those whom they think 'careful of the appearances of religion, negligent of the duties of morality.'

In the sixth sermon, the subject of which is the necessity of a Mediator, the guilt of those who neglect and despise an offered Saviour, is forcibly described. And surely, the provision of such a Saviour by God, ought to outweigh the arguments of those who live as if they had no need of applying for the benefit of this salvation. Jesus Christ is described as the agent of the sanctification of those who believe on him.

The subject of the seventh sermon is the folly of men estimating their characters by comparison with others, rather than with the divine law. A powerful argument stated against this, is, that the standard is formed from the circle of those with whom we associate, and is thus so variable as to be applied even among the most abandoned classes of society.

The preacher confirms his argument and illustrations of

the subject of the depravity of all men by nature in the sight of God, by the abundant testimony of Scripture.

Throughout the book Dr. Chalmers labours to exhibit, under different aspects, the truth that men may be amiable in society, without having a single moral sensibility towards God.

Dr. Chalmers has, as far as our information extends, the merit of originality, in illustrating the principle of love to God. This affection of love, he maintains, may be excited by the beauty of inanimate objects, which produces, perhaps, its faintest exercise. It may also arise from a view of moral perfections, and this he entitles the love of moral esteem. These qualities may be exercised towards us, and thus constitute the love of kindness, which produces, on our part, the reciprocal affection of the love of gratitude. This last principle ever remains in the minds even of the most worthless of our race, and is infallibly excited by the view of the correlative manifestation of kindness. It is this which God has chosen to win men to himself. It is by giving them a view of his beseeching kindness in the offer of a Saviour, or, in other words, by causing them to believe it (since a man cannot be said to know what he does not believe) that, from the constitution of their nature, he irresistibly excites, in their minds, the love of gratitude towards Him, which manifests itself in a life of obedience to his commands. Thus faith, working by love, is the foundation of a sinner's conversion. The character of God, says Dr. C. is shrouded from the spiritual eye, as is a lovely landscape from our natural sight, by darkness. A display of the perfections of Deity, except on the Christian scheme, is as when the fires of a volcano burst on the gloom, and terrify, but cannot charm the beholder. It is Christianity alone which can pour on the scene the gladsome light of day; which can cheer and animate, inform, console, and win the ignorant, drooping, alienated, and guilty mind of man. The love of moral esteem can never take

place, in the natural heart, towards God, so long as it views that justice which forms a part of His character, and which is set, in terrible array, against all who are out of Christ. Even could this sentiment exist, the person of the Deity would not be endeared until we had obtained a due sense of his kindness towards us; and the sense of deliverance must be felt before we can be animated by gratitude. S.

ART. II.—*American Bards, A Satire.* Philadelphia, 1820.

THE purposes of legitimate satire are noble, and the effects of successful satire are most salutary; when directed against vice,

‘ ’tis her corrective part
 To calm the wild disorders of the heart.
 She points the arduous height where glory lies,
 And teaches mad Ambition to be wise;
 In the dark bosom wakes the fair desire,
 Draws good from ill, a brighter flame from fire;
 Strips black oppression of a gay disguise,
 And bids the hag in native horror rise;
 Strikes tow’ring pride and lawless rapine dead,
 And plants the wreath on Virtue’s awful head.’

Pope.

When errors of manners or of taste are the subject of her castigation, her influence, though less important, is not less signal. But ‘an eagle’s talon asks an eagle’s eye,’—it was not given to every one to bend the bow of Ulysses, nor can every rhymers become, at will, an accomplished satirist.

The poem before us assumes to pass judgment upon all American bards—an undertaking that requires great nicety of discrimination, and great cultivation of taste; and calls also for a polished versification, pure style, and brilliant wit; without all of which requisites either unjust censures will be uttered and injudicious praise; or the reader will yawn over a tame discussion characterized by the very dulness which it is intended to laugh out of countenance.

The poem before us wants originality and sprightliness, and deals perhaps too largely in eulogium to be properly called a satire. Clifton, Paine, Dwight, Allsop, Shaw, Pierpont, Allston, Payne, Farmer, Neale, are all treated with unmingled praise, indeed the poem is called 'notes of uncorrupted praise,' in the invocation.

There is however a liberal and gentlemanlike tone of sentiment pervading the whole work, and a few good touches. We are therefore induced to accept a challenge which the author throws out, and shall proceed to point out some exceptionable matters to be corrected in the *next edition*:

'If one wrong censure or dishonest thought,
If one expression with injustice fraught,
If one harsh word has shed its venom here,
Show me the line—I'll blot it with a tear,' &c.

These are among his concluding lines, and while we acquit him from internal evidence of any 'dishonest thought,' seeing the indications of sincerity abounding through his nine hundred and seventy lines, we cannot but observe several instances of flagrant injustice, which will now be shown.

We pass the vehement condemnation of Barlow, as an error of taste that may plead the rule 'de gustibus,' &c. in its favour. Though certainly it is extraordinary to find the *Columbiad* described as 'in *sense* deficient,' whatever may be said of the *poetry*. But in the notice of Col. Humphreys' poetical efforts, there is a palpable sacrifice of justice for the sake of a bad pun; the colonel, it is well known, was active in the introduction of merino sheep, this gives occasion for our satirist to say of him

'Alas! his poor poetic cenotaph
May live in *sheep*, but cannot live in *calf*.

And this oracular prediction is justified in a note by the as

sertion that his poetical productions possessed 'little interest and no merit.' Now the satirist was not perhaps aware that one of the colonel's principal poems, 'Hasty Pudding,' was written with the laudable view of recommending, 'by the charms of verse,' that simple and economical article of diet commonly called *mush*, to the favour of Connecticut farmers. And, therefore, was not intended to be very elegant; but he ought not to have forgotten that the 'Widow of Malabar,' is the most successful tragedy that has yet been written in America.

A satirist is bound to remember that

'Now writers find, as once Achilles found,
'The whole is mortal, if a part 's unsound.'

It behoves him, therefore, not to censure dulness if his lines be dull, not to raise a laugh at incongruity if his own figures be incongruous, nor to lay himself open to retorts by the commission of the very errors he reprobates.

The tribe of poets threatened with a satire, cower under the expected lash; but when they find the scourge wielded by a hand of one not more exempt from failings than themselves, they indignantly exclaim

'Who 's this with nonsense, nonsense would restrain?
Who 's this (they cry) so vainly schools the vain?
Who damns our trash, with so much trash replete?
As, three ells round huge Cheyne rails at meat?' *Young.*

Trash and *nonsense* are harsh words, much more so than we are disposed to apply to this *Satire*, but probably not more harsh than the whole irritable race of poets will use in reply to strictures so open themselves to criticism.

These remarks were particularly suggested by the notice taken of the two poems, 'Mississippian Scenery,' and the 'Serenade.' The first of these has been hardly and severely

dealt with both by our satirist and the more awful censorship of the North American Review. It was a very harmless, if unsuccessful, endeavour to clothe in verse a description of the western wilderness; and if it was calculated to give to *any one* a more pleasing or more accurate notion of that region, the effort was not only innocent but laudable. It was announced and published and advertised most unambitiously, its pretensions were the most modest and unassuming; and altogether was such a work as might be expected to live its little hour exempt from the cruel disturbance of criticism. But its unhappy fate was to form the subject of an article in the North American Review, composed in a style of bitter scorn and derision; and (what was the most extraordinary) the sin most severely reprimanded was the pompous and arrogant title of 'Mississippian Scenery!' Not content with one river or one state, it was said, the author grasps the whole extent of country from the Lake of the Woods to the Gulph of Mexico. Now it is not a little amusing to see this charge gravely urged against the poet (whose preface announced his work to be only a description of what he had seen) in the pages of a Journal that, although of very limited range of disquisition, and very bounded circulation, assumes a title the most ambitious and comprehensive that could be devised, and calls itself *The 'North American'*—a designation as much more ostentatious than that of the poem, as the whole continent, including California and Labrador, Mexico and the United States, is more extensive than the regions watered by the Mississippi. And this too when its great prototype, the '*Edinburgh*' is satisfied with the name of a single town. The very respectable editors of the North American, doubtless overlooked the *beam* in their own eye, while they sought so earnestly to remove the *mote* from another's.

Our satirist is not less unmerciful upon Mr. Mead.

'What other moon-struck bard has boldly hurl'd
His rhyming labours at the dogging world?

'Tis "Mississippian Scenery;"—Mister MEAD;—
And like that scenery, very tame indeed.'

To which is appended a note as follows:

' "Mississippian Scenery, a Poem by Charles Mead." Philadelphia, 1819. 12mo. pp. 113. There are a few—a *very few* polished descriptions in this volume to counterbalance innumerable errors of rhythm, rhyme and reason: it consists, for the most part, of a constant repetition of similar sentiments, clothed in different words; withal so uninteresting, that it requires labour to surmount their perusal. These faults are occasionally mingled with total incomprehensibility.

"The weary traveller as he musing goes,
Breathing emotions to the wind—that blows." P. 43.

A strange freak for the wind!

A description of the "branding" of cattle deserves to be recorded;

"Upon these plains great Branderkoff appears,
Lifts the hot brand, and haunts th' unletter'd steers;
All in his reach must feel exquisite pain,
And on their sides his initials retain," &c. &c. P. 34.

Certainly the poem is not destined to immortality, nor could the praises or the censures of the satirist retard its progress to oblivion, but

'Let those teach others who themselves excel,
And censure freely that have written well.'

Is our author so entirely free from the faults objected against Mr. Mead as to entitle him to sneer and laugh or scold at occasional offences against good sense and good taste?

A *wind* that *blows*, performs a strange freak as he observes; that is to say, parting with the irony, the tautology of the line is ridiculous, and offensive to taste. But surely it is an equally 'strange freak' for tars to venture *on the wave*,* or

* 'The tars that fought and conquered *on the wave*.' p. 37.

'waste' to be 'useless'* or for 'azure' to be 'blue.'† All these instances of tautology are on a par with Mr. Mead's 'wind that blows,' and should have restrained the satirist from such vehemence of condemnation. We beg leave, however, to remind both these bards, for their consolation, of Gray's lines,

'Where China's richest art had dyed
The azure flowers *that blow*.'

And Dr. Johnson's remark, that the last line showed a rhyme was often *made* where none could readily be *found*.

The next attack is upon the false quantities and ignorance of true accent, perceived in so placing *exquisite* as to be pronounced with the second syllable long, and 'initials' so as to oblige the reader to accent the first and slur the second syllable. These are faults in Mr. Mead's versification, doubtless, but what right has a critic to censure them, who writes *Niobe*, with the first vowel short and the second long,‡ and *Euterpe* with the accent on the first syllable instead of the second:§ and *doggerel* as a trisyllable. Particularly as in a satirist on matters of taste, a thorough knowledge of the classics is fairly to be expected, and no man, unless his mind is imbued with classic lore, has any right to place himself in the judgment seat of taste.

The accusation of 'total incomprehensibility' is not less indiscreetly urged. Examples are not cited; we will suppose, however, they might have been; but nothing can be more impenetrably hidden than the meaning of the following sentence of our fastidious critic;

* 'Useless waste of pen and ink.' p. 12.

† 'The sparkling eye of black or azure blue.' p. 30

‡ 'O dread destroyer of Niobe's sons.' p. 5.

§ 'Star-struck Urania! Euterpe of song.' p. 6.

'Few, happy few, whose soul inspiring course
Has proudly centered in that sacred source,
Whose flowering laurels shade the idol'd fane,*
And Fame, and Wit, and Worth, and Honour reign. p. 9.

The other citations from 'Mississippian Scenery' we presume are intended to evidence vulgarity and coarseness of taste, though the charge is not distinctly made. They are very far from refined, but perhaps our satirist did not recollect that he had bemired one of his own pages with the following nauseous comparison;

'Thou hast a brain, such as it is, indeed,
On what else should thy *worms* of fancy feed;
Yet in a filbert, I have often known
Maggots survive when all the kernel's gone.' p. 38.

nor that he had degraded the figure of one of the muses by the sailors' common epithet of vilification, *bloody*.†

Certainly if he had retained his lucubrations nine years, as he advises 'Maxwell, *esquire*,' to do, he would, on reflection, have expunged both these instances of bad taste, and in expunging them would have found himself moved to forgive a similar fault in a brother bard.

Towards the author of the 'Serenade' he commits equal injustice. In the first place, this poem was never published,

* For other examples of equally lucid lines see the following:

'When one description serves but to presage
A fellow feeling on its brother page?'—p. 61.

'To please some "laughter loving nymph of glee"
His arm might stay the billows of the sea,
And o'er the surface of *its watery slave*
A thousand petticoats in triumph wave.' p. 36

'But these are gone, and see with brazen face
Unequall'd Impudence usurp their place,
Whence Wit and Learning with derision shrink
And Folly dabbles black with stolen ink.'

† 'Bloody Melpomene! thou tragic *queen*!' p. 6.

but 'distributed' among the friends of the author; a few dozen copies were afterwards printed, but no pretensions were ever advanced for it further than as one of those '*vers de societe*,' that are so frequently written for ladies' albums and circulate only in private coteries. The 'Serenade' never was *sold* nor *advertised*; and therefore is not fairly amenable to rigid criticism. But suppose the hapless poet legally arraigned, what are the *overt acts* of treason alleged against him? The lines cited are silly enough to be sure;* but through one whole page the monstrous nonsense of this figure is dilated upon. 'If Southey's overwhelming fancy had spread a like commotion in this author's head, chronicled miracles of ancient times would fall eclipsed before his wondrous rhymes.' For he who makes the 'white or blushing rose' on 'lucid snow its budding bloom disclose, can raise an Eden by his great command; in polar snow or Abyssinian sand,' &c. Then comes the incomprehensibility above referred to that 'his arm, (*videlicet* the arm of the culprit poet) might stay the billows of the sea, and o'er the surface of its (*i. e.* the sea's) *watery slave*, a thousand petticoats in triumph wave.' It is hardly credible that the above sentence should be *literatim* and '*punctuatim*' taken from the page next following the one wherein he flouts the '*reason*' of this much-laughed-at author. Our satirist had not in his memory that

'Satire recoils, whenever charged too high,
Round your own fame the fatal splinters fly, &c.'—Young.

To talk of 'white and blushing roses blooming on cheeks of lucid snow' is talking arrant nonsense; but what shall we say of 'guiding the measure of a tide?'† Nay, a 'Cyprian

* 'With smiling cheeks of *lucid snow*
Where *white* and *blushing roses* blow.'—Serenade.

† 'The sparkling eye of black or azure blue,
The cheek of lily's or of rose's hue,

tide' to make it more clear, and it is an 'eye of *azure blue*' to which our satirist attributes this difficult feat. Indeed he does not often limit himself, any more than the *Serenader*, to possibilities. He 'sustains features,'* makes a '*wooden lyre twang forth a Jews-harp strain*,' [p. 37] he places *empire* in a sitting posture.† Gives us 'distempered clouds' [p. 29] 'a bloody word,' a *tongue* that *tunes a lyre* [p. 16] which operation has hitherto been performed by hands;—proposes to 'crush a mania' [p. 12] and manifestly scorns to 'curb in' his fancy with the 'cramping chains'‡ of taste. In short, the proofs of haste and carelessness are innumerable, even grammar is not always obeyed; 'to rotten'§ is quite unauthorized, and we cannot suppose he intended to coin, else the animadversions on Barlow would be highly unjust.

In commenting on Mr. Paulding's genius he adverts to the celebrated reply written by that gentleman to the *Quarterly Review*. But forgets that Mr. Southey long since publicly disavowed having had any share in getting up that infamous tirade, to say therefore that 'apostate Southey's brain, prostrated fell and strove to rise in vain,' is altogether unjust, and the more unfortunate an error, because that great poet and accomplished historian is known to entertain and express the most liberal sentiments towards this country and its literature. Nor is the mistake compensated by any happy display

The 'lucid snow,' or orient blush can guide
Alike the measure of his Cyprian tide.' p. 30.

* 'And as he breathes the soul inspiring strain,
The brilliant *features* of his theme *sustain*.' p. 60.

† 'When Feeling's empire *sits*.' p. 37.

‡ 'Paulding awake! let not the dream of verse
Thy *living* rays of *wakened* Taste disperse,
Curb in thy Fancy with its *tramelling* reins,
And bind thy genius in its *cramping* chains.' p. 34.

§ 'And send no rhyming trash to *rotten* here.'

of wit accompanying it, (as in the case of Mr. Paulding's severe retort) to call England a 'bloated world' is not very intelligible or elegant, and to say that Mr. Paulding's '*pen hurled envenomed shafts*' against it, forms an incongruous figure and a very equivocal compliment, *venom* being generally understood to belong only to odious and despicable animals.

Having censured freely where censure was called for, we shall point out a few of the best lines, that our readers may part, in good humour, with the satirist. The following is a good figure, and we know nothing to the contrary of its being original.

'How many a grovelling wight
Flickers unhonoured in the shades of night.
Or feebly rising from his native mire,
With burthened pinions flutters to expire;
Like those bright fish with silver wings that leap,
And glittering skim the surface of the deep,
'Till self-exhausted, tumbling in the foam,
They seek in darkest depths their genial home.' p. 44.

And so is this,

'Yet more is requisite than drawling verse,
Which crams the sense in a poetic hearse,
And slowly travels on, in solemn sloth,
Where dark oblivion yawns, and covers both.' p. 41.

And the description of a young rhymster's first attempt at publication is very passable.

'Nine times the midnight lamp has shed its rays
O'er that young labourer for poetic bays,
Who to the heights of Pindus fain would climb,
By seeking words that jingle into rhyme;
See how the varying passions flush his face!—
The hasty stamp!—the petulant grimace!—

‘ His youthful brains are puzzled to afford
 A rhyme to sound with some unlucky word,
 ’Till by the Rhyming Dictionary’s aid,
 It finds a fellow and the verse is made;
 “ For so the rhyme be at the verses end,
 No matter whither all the rest does tend.”*

‘ Now, with a trembling step, he seeks the door,
 So often visited in vain before,
 Whose horizontal aperture invites
 Communications from all scribbling wights;
 He stops; and casts his timid eyes around;
 Approaches;—footsteps on the pavement sound.
 With careless air, he wanders from the scene,
 ’Till no intruding passengers are seen,
 Again returns:—fluttering with fears and hopes,
 He slides the precious scroll—and down it drops!
 With hurried steps that would outstrip the wind,
 And casting many a fearful glance behind,
 He hastens home to seek the arms of sleep,
 And dreams of quartos, bound in calf or sheep.

‘ Gods! how his anxious bosom throbs and beats
 To see the newsman creeping through the streets!
 Thinks, as he loiters at each patron’s door,
 Whole ages passing in one short half-hour:
 Now, from his tardy hand he grasps the news,
 And, trembling for the honour of his muse,
 Unfolds the paper;—with what eager glance
 His sparkling eyes embrace the vast expanse!
 Now, more intent, he gazes on the print,
 But not one single line of rhyme is in’t!
 The paper falls; he cries, with many a tear,
 “ My God! my Ode to Cupid—is not here!”
 One hope remains: he claims it with a sigh,
 And “ Z to-morrow” meets his dazzled eye!” p. 50.

* Butler.

ART. III.—*Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough*; with his original correspondence: collected from the family records at Blenheim, and other authentic sources. Illustrated with Portraits, Maps, and Military Plans. By William Coxe, M. A. F. R. S. F. S. A. Archdeacon of Wilts. 3 vols. 4to.

[From the Eclectic Review.]

‘JOHN CHURCHILL entered into life under circumstances peculiarly advantageous to the development of his splendid powers. The poverty of his family imposed upon him the necessity of exertion, while the services and sufferings, not only of his father but of his grandfather, in the royal cause, entitled him to the patronage of the court, which was probably, the more efficient through the interest of his sister Arabella, who submitted to become the mistress of James, duke of York. At the early age of sixteen, he obtained an ensigncy in the guards, and when only twenty-two, commanded a company of grenadiers. In this capacity he served under the orders of Turenne, and from that consummate officer acquired the element of his future mastery in the art of war. Discreet and intrepid in his military conduct, and a model of manly beauty in his person, he became a favourite both with Turenne, and with his own immediate commander, the duke of Monmouth. After acquiring the admiration of the French general, and the gratitude of Monmouth, who ascribed to captain Churchill’s intrepidity the preservation of his life, in 1674, when only twenty-four years of age, he was appointed by Louis XIV, colonel of an English regiment serving with the French army. His subsequent courtship and marriage are very cursorily described by his present biographer. We are indeed told of the ‘romantic tenderness’ and of the ‘keen sensibility’ expressed in his letters, and of the traits of character clearly to be traced in the epistles of the lady; but no specimens are inserted, though we should have

supposed that, without any infringement upon the most rigid delicacy, such extracts might have been selected as should have tended to exhibit the peculiar feelings and views of Marlborough, in this interesting portion of his life. We suspect, however, that this correspondence would not bear the light; that the epistles of the gentleman were fond and foolish, and the rejoinders of the lady petulant and capricious. The union took place in 1678. At this time, colonel Churchill was in the most intimate confidence of the duke of York, and employed by him in negotiations of the utmost secrecy and delicacy. On one occasion, when despatched by James to London for the purpose of urging decided measures on the part of Charles, it is affirmed that

‘ Arriving at court, colonel Churchill found the king too much alarmed to embrace the violent counsels of his brother; yet the dexterous negociator acquired a new title to the confidence of his patron, by the extreme address with which he executed his commission, and the impression which his representations made on the mind of the king.’

‘ It is certainly possible that Churchill proved himself a “dexterous” agent, but it does not appear, either in the illustrations or in the result, that he acquitted himself with the “extreme address” ascribed to him by Mr. Coxe. He failed in every point; nor would it seem, by the termination of the business, that he produced the slightest “impression” on the mind of the king. This sort of presumptive eulogy, which affirms without proving or supporting, is highly objectionable; and we regret we have to say that there is too much of this kind of writing throughout the work. During a considerable period, colonel Churchill was the close confidant of James I. When the Gloucester yacht was wrecked in Yarmouth roads, and “so many persons of consideration perished,” the duke himself invited his favourite to enter the boat which preserved the few who escaped; and when James was recalled to court by his brother, he procured for Churchill a

Scotch barony, and the command of "the royal regiment of horse guards." At the same time, the foundations of his future fortune were more deeply laid by the appointment of lady Churchill to an honourable post near the person of the princess Anne. On the accession of James, fresh marks of his favour were conferred upon Churchill, and he was despatched to Paris with the official intelligence of the death of Charles; on which occasion, he is said by Burnet, to have expressed to lord Galway his determination to abandon the king, if any attempt should be made to change the "religion and constitution" of England. In 1685, he was made an English peer. According to Mr. Coxe, he was the principal cause of the defeat of Monmouth in the preceding year. Soon after this, he commenced a correspondence with the prince of Orange, and when the measure of James's folly and wickedness had reached its consummation, took that decided step which his present biographer ascribes to "a sense of patriotism and religion," but the motives of which, we confess, appear to us extremely doubtful. We are disposed partly to agree with Hume, that such "conduct was a signal sacrifice, to public virtue, of every duty in private life, and required, ever after, the most upright, disinterested, and public spirited behaviour, to render it justifiable." We do not understand the "motives of delicacy" which induced him to absent himself from the Upper House, when the question concerning the vacancy of the throne was debated: it might seem that after having appeared in arms against James, the rest could be very little objectionable on the score of indelicacy.

'On the accession of William, Marlborough was employed under the prince of Waldeck, in the Netherlands, and distinguished himself by his courage and conduct, in the important affair of Walcourt. After his return to England, in the same year, he was successfully engaged in the reduction of Cork and of Kinsale. In the commencement of 1691, we find a curious instance of his "dexterous" versatility, for he

is accused, on very good and sufficient evidence, of negotiating with his old master, making large professions of repentance, and holding out vague promises of effectual service. Still, however, he stood high in the opinion of William, and was designated by the marquis of Caermarthen, as the "general of favour."

"In May, 1691, he accompanied the king to the continent, and was employed in accelerating the military preparations, and assembling the troops for the ensuing campaign. On this occasion he experienced that jealous opposition from the states general and their officers, which afterwards defeated his more important undertakings. Among other suggestions he strongly recommended measures for the security of Mons, the barrier of Flanders; but his advice was rejected, and the place was lost. During this campaign his merit attracted particular notice, and induced discerning judges to prognosticate his future celebrity. Among others, the prince of Vaudemont, being asked by the king to give his opinion on the characters of the English generals, replied, 'Kirk has fire, Laneir thought, Mackay skill, and Colchester bravery; but there is something inexpressible in the earl of Marlborough. All their virtues seem to be united in his single person. I have lost,' he emphatically added 'my wonted skill in physiognomy, if any subject of your majesty can ever attain such a height of military glory, as that to which this combination of sublime perfections must raise him.' William acknowledged the propriety of the observation by replying, with a smile, 'Cousin, you have done your part in answering my question; and I believe the earl of Marlborough will do his to verify your prediction.' " Vol. I. p. 44.

'The numerous intrigues connected with the variances between queen Mary and the princes Anne, Marlborough's disgrace and committal to the Tower, his subsequent correspondence with the exiled family, together with his restora-

tion to the ostensible favour of William, and his appointment to the office of governor to the son of the princess Anne, are distinctly, though briefly narrated in the present work. In 1698, Marlborough gave his eldest daughter to the only son of his friend lord Godolphin; and in January 1699—1700, he united his lovely and accomplished daughter Anne, to lord Spencer, the only son of the celebrated earl of Sunderland. This latter marriage was afterwards productive of considerable uneasiness to the parents of lady Anne, for Spencer, instead of yielding himself implicitly, as they expected, to their political direction, proved to be steady in his rejection of all control.

“ Lord Spencer in person was highly favoured by nature, and no less liberally gifted with intellectual endowments, which he had improved by assiduous study. He was remarkable for a sedateness above his years; but in him a bold and impetuous spirit was concealed under a cold and reserved exterior. Imbued with that ardent love of liberty, which the youthful mind generally draws from the writers of Greece and Rome, and educated amidst the effervescence which produced the revolution, he was a zealous champion of the whig doctrines, in their most enlarged sense. Associating with the remnant of republicans who had survived the commonwealth, he caught their spirit. He was an animated speaker; and in the warmth of debate, disdained to spare the prejudices or failings even of those with whom he was most intimately connected. His political idol was lord Somers, though he wanted both the prudence and temper of so distinguished a leader.” Vol. I. p. 74.

‘ In 1700, the king tried the experiment of dismissing the whigs, and committing the conduct of government to the management of the tory party. Of the new parliament elected in this year, Robert Harley was chosen speaker, and in this instance, as well as on future occasions, his political ad-

vancement was "zealously promoted" by Marlborough, who could not anticipate that in this subtle and tergiversating intriguer, he was patronising a future rival, who should retaliate upon him the injuries of the deserted James. Previously, however, to the king's death, the royal favour was restored to the whigs, and in his later arrangements for the administration of government, William was guided by the counsels of Somers. The last advice given by the king to his successor, is affirmed to have been, that she should employ "Marlborough as the most proper person in her dominions, to lead her armies, and direct her counsels."

'The accession of the new sovereign was the auspicious opening of the golden period of Marlborough's life. His countess and himself had remained attached to the princess through all the changes of her fortunes; and although it is sufficiently clear that their devotedness to her interest was little more than a shrewd political calculation, it was repaid by the weak and warm hearted Anne, with all the fervour and sincerity of pure and strong affection. She considered them as martyrs to her cause, and gave herself up to their direction. The ministerial appointments were made in great measure under the influence of Marlborough, who, though not a very warm partisan, leaned to the tory side. But his great object was, no doubt, the advancement of his own fortune and power, by obtaining the direction of the war against France; and he succeeded in those preliminary arrangements which ultimately led to the accomplishment of his purpose. In the mean time, minor acquisitions were not neglected; the garter, the captainship-general, and the direction of the ordnance department, for himself, sundry profitable offices for his countess, and a variety of good things for his family and immediate connexions, were among the earliest distributions of the new fountain of wealth and honours. We fully coincide, however, with Mr. Coxe, in his opinion, that the influence of the countess of Marlborough has been much overrated. Her

vile and imperious temper seems to have disgusted the queen, at the very commencement of her reign, and the following remarks appear to us, in all respects, just.

“ Swift observes, that the alienation of the queen from the dutchess of Marlborough commenced at her accession. This opinion, which is correct, he evidently formed from the information of Mrs. Masham and Mr. Harley.

“ The duchess herself, in her conduct, has so far over-rated her influence, as to assume the merit of having procured the nomination of the principal whig ministers, after the queen's accession, and her assertions have been implicitly adopted by those writers who are not acquainted with the secret history of the times. The fact is, that on points of minor consideration, the recommendation of the favourite was often attended with effect, but in the great arrangements of state she had no real interest. She felt and even resented this mortification, though in vain; and she has made it a subject of complaint in one of her manuscript narratives. A tory administration was formed in spite of her remonstrances; and from this cause as well as from this period of time, we trace a series of incessant bickerings with the queen. The discrimination invariably made by Anne between the two parties, who were contending for power, furnished an inexhaustible source of controversy; and this discordance of sentiment, though trifling in its origin, increased in vehemence on every subsequent change, till it ended in open and irreconcilable enmity.” pp. 116, 117, Note.

“ Anne, from the timidity of her character, was averse from the hazards of war; but it was made clear to her, that the honour and interest of England were concerned in maintaining her continental alliances, and in resisting the undisguised encroachments of the French king. Louis had, indeed, at this time, contrived to place himself in a most formidable attitude. His armies menaced, from commanding positions,

Germany, Holland, and Italy; his grandson occupied the Spanish throne; and the intrigues of the Pretender gave the means of harassing and enfeebling the exertions of Great Britain. After various negotiations, and the removal of many difficulties, Marlborough was appointed to the command of the allied armies on the lower Rhine. Mr. C. describes him as suffering before his departure the "keenest anguish" at his separation from his wife, and tells us, with all possible gravity, that "no lover ever quitted an adored mistress with more poignant sorrow, than he felt on taking leave of his countess!" He did, however, take leave of her; and early in July, 1702, assumed the command of the troops. The first transactions in which he was engaged, afforded a presage of the vexations and entanglements which were to embarrass and impede his future operations. The difficulty of collecting the various contingents, the necessity of adjusting so many conflicting claims, and of soothing so many capacious tempers, but above all, the constant and teasing interference of a set of *incubi*, in the shape of Dutch generals, and Dutch deputies, make it matter of real astonishment, not only that he accomplished so much, but that he was able to succeed in any enterprise whatever. In three instances during the campaign, he had it in his power to force the enemy to battle under circumstances that, humanly speaking, would have ensured their defeat; but the timidity of the deputies, and the tardy movements of the Dutch officers, withheld him, and the campaign terminated with the capture of a few fortresses, the possession of which was of advantage for his future movements.

"In closing our narrative of military transactions, we cannot neglect to render justice to the candour and liberality of Athlone. The veteran general, instead of indulging that jealousy, which too often rankles in less noble minds, seized an early opportunity to acknowledge his own errors, and applaud the merits of his illustrious colleague. 'The success

of this campaign,' he said, 'is solely due to this incomparable chief, since I confess that I, serving as second in command, opposed in all circumstances his opinion and proposals.' No panegyric can equal this candid avowal. It is alike honourable to the general by whom it was made, and to him whom no obstructions could divert from the accomplishment of his beneficial designs." Vol. I. p. 147.

'The queen availed herself of the satisfaction universally expressed at the conduct of the campaign, to confer a dukedom on the successful commander: and it is amusing to observe the various ways taken by both Marlborough and his wife, to obtain the addition of substantial wealth to the unprofitable title. A specimen of the insatiable avarice of the dutchess and of her husband, is afforded by the fact, that Anne having settled 5000*l.* a year on Marlborough, out of a disposable fund, wished to add to it a pension of 2000*l.* from the privy purse; this was firmly declined; but on the disgrace of the dutchess, it was claimed and received, together with the whole of the arrears from the time when it was offered and rejected. During his stay in England, we find Marlborough giving his warm sanction to the detestable bill for preventing occasional conformity, intended to weaken the influence of the whigs, by depriving them of the support of the dissenters, who then, as now, threw their interest into the scale of that party which advocated the most liberal principles. This tyrannical measure was, of course, affirmed by its favourers, to be perfectly compatible with civil and religious freedom, and the act was prefaced with the usual *quantum* of hypocritical profession.

"In the preamble persecution was disclaimed, and the principles of toleration warmly asserted; but the provisions of the act were not the less severe, and indeed were calculated to exclude all, except zealous churchmen, from every office

of trust or honour. Even the privilege of freedom in corporations was taken away. As if to increase the hardship of exclusion, no time was limited for giving information against offenders, no rule laid down to define the nature of the offence, and the penalties were so severe as in many cases to threaten utter ruin." Vol. I, p. 158.

'The attempt failed; it passed the commons, but encountered the most vigorous opposition in the house of lords. But all the schemes of ambition were for a season suspended in the mind of Marlborough, by the loss of his only son, a promising youth of seventeen, who died on the 20th February, 1703. This was a most severe stroke: it wounded him not only in his affection, but in his ambition, since it deprived him of the hope that a regular succession might perpetuate in his family his name and honours. Long after this heavy affliction, we find him reverting to it. The following letter to the dutchess, dated August 2, 1703, we cite as a specimen of his domestic correspondence.

"I have received yours of the 23d, which has given me, as you may easily believe, a good deal of trouble. I beg you will be so kind and just to me, as to believe the truth of my heart, that my greatest concern is for that of your own dear health. It was a great pleasure to me when I thought that we should be blessed with more children; but as all my happiness centers in living quietly with you, I do conjure you, by all the kindness I have for you, which is as much as ever man had for woman, that you will take the best advice you can for your health, and then follow exactly what shall be prescribed for you, and I do hope you will be so good as to let me have an exact account of it, and what the physicians' opinions are. If I were with you I would endeavour to persuade you to think as little as is possible of worldly business, and to be very regular in your diet, which I should hope would set you right in a very little time, for you have natur-

ally a very good constitution. You and I have great reason to bless God for all we have, so that we must not repine at his taking our poor child from us, but bless and praise him for what his goodness leaves us; and I do beseech him with all my heart and soul that he would comfort and strengthen both you and me, not only to bear this, but any other correction that he shall think fit to lay on us. The use I think we should make of this his correction is, that our chiefest time should be spent in reconciling ourselves to him, and having in our minds always that we may not have long to live in this world. I do not mean by this, that we should live retired from the world; for I am persuaded that by living in the world, one may do much more good than by being out of it, but at the same time to live so as that one should cheerfully die when it shall be his pleasure to call for us. I am very sensible of my own frailties; but if I can be ever so happy as to be always with you, and that you comfort and assist me in these my thoughts, I am then persuaded I should be as happy and contented as it is possible to be in this world; for I know we should both agree next to our duty to God, to do what we ought for the queen's service." ' Vol I. pp. 170, 171.

' The campaign of 1703 was opened by the French, under many advantages. They still occupied their commanding posts in Germany and Italy; and though they had been foiled, and driven back, by Marlborough, on the Meuse, yet they had sustained no defeat; their army was unbroken, and their resources were entire. Had the British general's hands been unfettered, he would, in all probability, have soon compelled the French army to retreat; but the selfish, captious, and perverse conduct of the Dutch generals, again compelled him to waste the campaign in sieges. In the mean time, he was under the necessity of carrying on a different kind of warfare in England. The ministry were divided; the more decided tories, with Rochester and Nottingham at their head, were averse from the grand schemes of continental exertion,

which were promoted by Marlborough and Godolphin. Rochester was dismissed, and the duchess, who was a clamorous whig, was persevering in her efforts to persuade her husband to connect himself with the party which she preferred. Harassed and exhausted by all these intrigues and differences, Godolphin and the duke, either in earnest or in menace, began to hint an intention of retiring. The following letter from the queen, is in answer to a threat of this kind. It may be necessary to apprise some of our readers that in Anne's private correspondence with the duchess, she was accustomed to adopt the name of Morley, while Mr. and Mrs. Freeman denote the duke and his wife, and Mr. Montgomery stands for Godolphin.

“The thoughts that both my dear Mrs. Freeman and Mr. Freeman seem to have of retiring, give me no small uneasiness, and therefore I must say something on that subject. It is no wonder at all that people in your posts should be weary of the world, who are so continually troubled with all the hurry and impertinencies of it; but give me leave to say you should a little consider your faithful friends and poor country, which must be ruined if ever you put your melancholy thoughts in execution. As for your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, she could not bear it; for if ever you should forsake me, I would have nothing more to do with the world, but make another abdication; for what is a crown when the support of it is gone. I never will forsake your dear self, Mr. Freeman, nor Mr. Montgomery, but always be your constant and faithful friend, and we four must never part till death mows us down with his impartial hand.”

Vol. I. p. 202.

‘The campaign closed under the most gloomy prospects, and it appeared probable, that another year would enable the French monarch to break up the confederacy, by compelling the emperor to sign a treaty of submission under the very walls of Vienna. The Hungarian insurrection was gaining

ground; the Bavarians were in full strength on the Danube; Villars had secured the defiles of the Black Forest; and the house of Austria seemed on the very verge of the lowest humiliation. It was under these circumstances that the English general planned and executed that admirable scheme which changed the fortunes of the war, gave Austria a breathing time, and commenced that series of triumphs, which made the name of *Malbrouk* as great a terror to France, as that of Richard had been to the Saracens. In April, 1704, he quitted England for this brilliant service, and soon after his departure, Nottingham was compelled to resign his office in the administration; a step which though it was immediately conducive to the success of the great plans of Marlborough, yet ultimately led to his fall, since it introduced into the more important offices of government, Harley and St. John.

“Many of the zealous whigs were highly offended at these appointments, which they regarded as a slight to their party: and their complaints were imparted to Marlborough by his son in law, lord Sunderland. But he had still more vehement expostulations to encounter from his duchess. She depicted the attachment and zeal professed by Harley, as mere artifices to clothe his consummate subtlety; and her keen sagacity equally discovered the insatiable ambition and party zeal, which in St. John was cloaked with the appearance of unaffected candour, and careless vivacity. She conjured her husband to moderate his confidence towards two statesmen whom she regarded as doubtful friends, if not dangerous enemies. Marlborough, however, neglected these warnings, from the honourable motive of regarding merit and abilities in the choice of his confidants, and from a native magnanimity of character, which was as unsuspecting as it was itself above suspicion. He thus unconsciously prepared the way for his subsequent mortification and final disgrace.”

Vol. I. p. 233.

‘ Marlborough had now commenced an undertaking of the utmost difficulty; he had to disengage himself and his army from the Dutch, and at the same time to conceal his real intentions, under the pretence of some less hazardous scheme. At length he succeeded in every point, and commenced his march ostensibly for the Moselle, but in reality for Bavaria. At Mondelsheim he met prince Eugene, and they were afterwards joined by the Margrave Louis of Baden. With the first he contracted a close intimacy, which was never afterwards broken, nor even impaired; but the last seemed to be the legitimate representative of the Dutch generals, able but dilatory, jealous, and punctilious. The Margrave often occasioned the greatest uneasiness to Marlborough, and prevented the completion of the best arranged enterprises. In order to cover his dominions from the intended attack, the elector of Bavaria had taken up two formidable positions, one of which it was necessary to force, for the purpose of securing the passage of the Danube. On the 2d of July, after a long and fatiguing march, Marlborough came in front of the Schellenberg, a fortified height above the town and fortress of Donawert, defended by a strong body of Bavarian troops. The fortifications were as yet imperfect, and since every hour’s delay tended to multiply the resources of the enemy, the British general made his dispositions immediately, and after a sanguinary conflict, forced the lines. The subsequent possession of Donawert gave him the command of the Danube, and he lost no time in advancing into the territories of the elector. We are sorry to add, that he tarnished his fame by licensing his troops to lay waste the country, a measure of which the barbarity is in no degree extenuated by the examples of other commanders, who have sanctioned similar excesses. At length, the French marshal Tallard joined the troops of the elector, with a strong force, and prince Eugene, who had been manœuvring against him with an inferior army, opened his communication with Marlborough. The first step of

these great generals was, to relieve themselves from the presence of the unmanageable Margrave, whom they persuaded to undertake the siege of Ingoldstadt. After various movements, the Gallo-Bavarian army took up a strong position in advance of Hochstett, and behind a swampy rivulet called the Nebel. The ground was favourable, and the advantages on the side of the French were considerable. The streamlet in their front was impassable, excepting in particular points, which were of course protected; their extreme right rested on the Danube, and was covered by the fortified and strongly garrisoned village of Blenheim; the village of Oberglauh was occupied as a support to the centre, and the village of Lutzingen served as a *point d'appui* to the left. The hostile armies were respectively 56,000 and 52,000 men, the higher number belonging to the army of Tallard and the elector. In the position of the French and Bavarians there were, however, certain weak points, which such men as Marlborough and Eugene were not likely to overlook. That acute but self-sufficient critic Feuquieres, enumerates exactly a dozen cardinal errors on the part of his countrymen, some of which, we confess, appear to us rather captiously selected. The great error seems to have consisted in the arrangement, by which the centre was weakened for the purpose of filling the village of Blenheim with troops, part of whom might certainly have been more advantageously employed elsewhere. After all, we suspect that the position though admirably chosen, in itself considered, was yet somewhat too extensive for the number of men by whom it was occupied. The attack of the French right and centre was consigned to Marlborough, who began the action by an attempt to carry the village of Blenheim, which was completely unsuccessful, and after an immense loss, the troops were compelled to shelter themselves behind the crest of a rising ground. In the meantime the British centre, after sustaining several charges of cavalry, maintained itself on the right bank of the Nebel. In the

various manœuvres which effected and followed this success, the English general appears to us to have conducted himself with consummate skill, self-possession, and intrepidity. He presented himself at every difficult point, and in particular, when the conflict had assumed the most disastrous aspect in the vicinity of Oberglauch, through the cowardice or insubordination of the imperial cavalry, the duke in person took the command of the troops in that quarter, and by a series of decisive movements, established his brigades on the contested ground. Marlborough then formed his divisions for the final attack, and after a fierce and doubtful struggle, bore down the opposing lines. During these transactions, Eugene with the right wing, had been vainly striving by a succession of desperate charges, to drive back the left wing of the French army, commanded by the elector of Bavaria. After having with the utmost difficulty, succeeded in turning the left flank of the Bavarians, and in occupying a position, which though somewhat in advance, was yet extremely hazardous, he had been compelled to wait the result of the battle on his left. Witnessing the success of Marlborough, he advanced on the elector, who, with Marsin, commenced an orderly retreat; but the French right was completely broken, numbers were drowned in the Danube, and the whole division which had been posted in Blenheim, was constrained to surrender. Marshal Tallard was among the prisoners.

‘The victory of Blenheim broke down at once the supremacy of France, quelled the terror which her arms had so long inspired, and gave a new character to the war. The French generals now lost their presumptuous confidence of success, and shunned, with pertinacious timidity, every hazard of committing themselves in battle with Marlborough upon equal terms. And yet, when we examine their various details of the transactions of this war, it may, it is true, be collected from them, that such an officer had the command of the British troops; but that he ever succeeded in defeat-

ing the armies of France, is carefully concealed or evaded. Feuquieres does indeed speak of Marlborough, as having brought a body of auxiliary troops to the aid of Eugene; but the latter is mentioned by him as the principal commander. "The right wing of prince Eugene," is a phrase which implies that the whole of the army was under his command. The fact, on the contrary, is, that Eugene commanded only the right wing, whose share in the battle consisted chiefly in a series of fierce, and unsuccessful attacks, without the opportunity for the exercise of much skill and science; whereas in the centre and on the left, both of which were under the direction of Marlborough, not only there was much severe fighting, but a number of difficult and complicated movements and manœuvres were necessary to turn the fortune of the day.

' But Feuquieres is constrained to do justice to the genius of Marlborough, though he carefully avoids naming him, for he is compelled to admit that the formation of the troops on the left, was, although *bizarre*, yet *judicieusement pense*. Now, this is the highest praise of a commander, that in adaptation of circumstances, he can depart from a servile adherence to rule and routine, and invent for himself new modes and facilities of action. Nor does he deal fairly with Tallard, who certainly fought bravely and stubbornly, and as certainly availed himself of some of those opportunities and advantages which his critic intimates that he neglected.

' The military results of this important action, led to the passage of the Rhine, the surrender of Landau, and the possession of strong winter-quarters on the Moselle. After a diplomatic journey to Berlin, and a politic visit to Hanover, Marlborough returned by the Hague to England, where, though he met with the usual proportion of annoyance from his political opponents, he was indemnified by ample honours and recompenses, among which were the manor of Woodstock, and the palace of Blenheim.

‘ The respective characters of the celebrated “Junta” of the five whig leaders, the lords Somers, Wharton, Halifax, Orford, and Sunderland, are on the whole faithfully portrayed, and accurately discriminated by our author. At all times their talents and activity had given them great influence, but at the present period, they began to act a more conspicuous and effective part. Disgusted by the violence and mere party spirit of the mass of the tories, Marlborough and Godolphin were led to conciliate the whigs by more decided steps. The situation of the duke, in the midst of all these cabals, was not a little embarrassing. His own political views were, in general, of a moderate and intermediate kind, with a bias, however, towards the tories, as, on the whole, the fittest instruments for his system of administration; but, chiefly, because the inclinations of the queen were decidedly in favour of the avowed principles of that party. Godolphin, whose habits of thinking were very much in unison with those of Marlborough, was of a weaker and more fluctuating cast of mind, and must have frequently given great annoyance to his firmer colleague, by his timidity and his hesitation. But the duchess seems to have been her husband’s arch-tormentor: her whig principles were little suited to his practical politics, and still less to the tory prejudices of the queen. The letters of the duke to this intriguing and vexatious termagant, show the perpetual state of restlessness in which he was kept by her temper; they are marked by a pervading tone of deprecation; and his unwearied assurances of his anxious inclination to desist from the harassing duties of his profession, and, apart from war and politics, to enjoy domestic life in her society, indicate unequivocal symptoms of a real disposition to remain at a tranquillizing distance from her reproaches and complaints.

“ It has been generally asserted that Marlborough evinced the same weakness as Belisarius, in submitting to the government of his wife. It cannot indeed be denied that in

domestic life he indulged her caprices; and that conferring offices of more emolument than trust, he occasionally listened to her recommendation. But the whole series of his correspondence shows that she possessed no influence in political affairs of importance, and was suffered to take no share in those arrangements which give character to the administration of government. The whigs, whose interest she particularly claims the merit of promoting, were little indebted to her importunities, and owed their introduction to power to the fears of the treasurer, to their strength in parliament, and above all to the conviction of Marlborough, that the war could not be vigorously prosecuted without their support."

Vol. I. p. 377.

' The campaign of 1705, was commenced by Marlborough on the Moselle, but the gross misconduct of the Margrave of Baden, and the prudent tactics of Villars, prevented the accomplishment of his designs; and the movements of Villeroy on the Meuse, induced him to abandon all his previous plans, and to march to the assistance of the Dutch. His arrival changed the aspect of affairs; the French marshal was compelled to fall back, and to shelter himself behind his strong lines on the little Gheet river. Experience has since shown, that excepting under very peculiar circumstances, this kind of bulwark is at best uncertain, and that an enterprising and skilful enemy will always find a method of breaking through it. In fact, the attempt to fortify a whole country is palpably absurd. There will necessarily occur some weak part, some vantage ground to an enemy; the assailant can always find means to make the movements of defence more harassing than the demonstrations of attack, and it will be always extremely difficult for the defensive commander to distinguish between deceptive and genuine manœuvres. Such was the case in the present instance. By a well-devised and boldly executed feint, Marlborough attracted the attention of Villeroy and the elector of Bavaria to a particular point, and

by a series of rapid and skilfully combined marches, forced his passage in a different quarter with very slight loss. But all his subsequent measures for compelling the enemy to a battle on terms advantageous to himself, were completely thwarted by the Dutch generals, and especially by Slangenberg. On one occasion, in particular, where Marlborough had made every disposition for an attack in full confidence of success, this petulant, and vile tempered Dutchman conducted himself with the grossest outrage and insubordination, and, by his influence with the deputies and generals, compelled the duke to abandon his intention, exclaiming, in grief and mortification, "I am at this moment *ten* years older than I was four days ago." So glaring and insolent an interference with the well-digested schemes of a commander in chief, was not to be tolerated, if any expectation were indulged of vigorous measures and ultimate success; and accordingly, though the duke conducted himself with exemplary moderation, the general indignation produced the salutary effect of exonerating him from blame, and removing Slangenberg from the army. But the mischief was done, and the campaign terminated without any further signal success. Marlborough's time and talents were, however, fully occupied in a variety of intricate negotiations, which induced him to visit Vienna, Berlin, Hanover, and the Hague, previously to his return to England. During these transactions, the different parties at home, were annoying each other by all possible means, and the duke was, as usual, one of the principal objects of aspersions by the advocates of the tory side, who were unable to forgive his coalition with the whigs. A curious anecdote is told of Harley, in this part of the work. Godolphin and his great coadjutor had taken much pains to effect a union of the moderate tories, of whom Harley and St. John were the ostensible leaders, with the whig party, and in furtherance of this desirable purpose,

“ A dinner was arranged by the two ministers, at the house of Harley. The company consisted, on one side, of Harley and St. John, and on the other of Halifax, Sunderland, and Boyle, together with Godolphin and Marlborough. Somers was also invited, but going to his country house, sent an excuse in terms which proved that he concurred in sentiment with those who were present. The entertainment passed with great spirit, and apparent cordiality, though the whigs could not refrain from indicating the suspicions which they still fostered of Harley's subtle and trimming character. The anecdote will be best related in the words of lord Cowper, who was himself one of the actors. ‘ On the departure of lord Godolphin, Harley took a glass, and drank to love and friendship, and everlasting union, and wished he had more Tokay to drink it in; we had drank two bottles good, but thick. I replied, his white Lisbon was best to drink it in, being very *clear*. I suppose he apprehended it (as I observed most of the company did) to relate to that humour of his, which was never to deal clearly or openly; but always with reserve, if not dissimulation, or rather simulation; and to love tricks when not necessary, but from an inward satisfaction in applauding his own cunning.’ ” Vol. I. pp. 522, 3.

‘ The exertions of Marlborough were acknowledged by the emperor Joseph, in the strongest terms; and in 1705, he was created a prince of the empire, with the additional grant of the territory of Mindelheim, yielding an annual revenue of nearly 2000*l*. This territorial acquisition did not, however, remain long in his possession. It had originally belonged to Bavaria, and was restored at the conclusion of peace.

‘ Notwithstanding the brilliant successes of Marlborough, he had been so completely counteracted by the jealousy, or perhaps, in some instances, the treachery of his coadjutors, as to be prevented from following up and completing them, by a transfer of the seat of war to the country of the enemy. But his military character began now to stand so high, and

the true interests of the grand alliance to be so much more clearly understood, that he obtained a greater degree of confidence from the different powers, and a more implicit deference from the officers of all nations by whom he was surrounded. Still, however, he was pressed upon by many and formidable difficulties. The emperor urged him to resume the command on the Moselle: but it was his own wish to join Eugene in Italy, where the activity of Vendome had so shattered the forces of the imperialists, as to reduce them to a system cautiously defensive.

‘ This plan was defeated by various circumstances; but the alarm occasioned by the success of Villars against the prince of Baden on the Upper Rhine, extorted from the Dutch an assurance that the plans of the general should no longer be thwarted by the cabals of nominally inferior authorities. Still, Marlborough entered upon the service of the campaign with (in his own phrase) “ a heavy heart.” Expecting that the French commanders would limit themselves to defensive manœuvres, he anticipated no such results as would give a favourable and decided change to the general aspect of the war. His active and well-conceived measures were, however, successful in compelling his antagonists to alter their plans. Trusting to a secret intelligence with an inhabitant of Namur, he determined, by possessing himself of that important fortress, to turn the right flank of the French lines, and with this view he advanced on Tirlemont, with a force somewhat inferior in amount to that of the enemy. Namur was a possession of too much value to be lost without an effort to preserve it. Villeroy accordingly put his army in motion without delay, and having established himself in the strong position of Mont St. Andre, awaited the attack of the allies. The celebrated action of Ramillies which followed, seems to have been most admirably fought, on the part of Marlborough. His first movement, which, by alarming Villeroy for his left, led him to *ungarnish* his centre and right,

contributed essentially to the success of the day. Every subsequent error of the enemy was marked and turned to account by the vigilance of the English general, and after some hard fighting and skilful manœuvring, he succeeded in routing the right wing of the French, and in establishing his troops on the heights of Ottomond, the key to their position. An attempt on the part of the enemy, to accomplish their retreat in good order, was rendered ineffectual by a series of vigorous charges, and the French army was driven, in rapid flight, behind the canal of Brussels. It was impossible, as it seems to us, for the duties of a commanding officer to have been more consummately discharged than they were by Marlborough on this occasion. His person was, at one time, in the greatest danger, and it was by his own specific exertions, most ably seconded by the gallant Dutch veteran Overkirk, that the decisive movements of the battle were effected. But a higher praise than this, the praise of careful humanity, belongs to the British general; and we are happy to advert to it in this place, because he has been accused, on most respectable authority, of gross failure in this respect. In Dr. Doddridge's life of Colonel Gardiner, in reference to this very battle it is affirmed to have been the duke's "constant method" to pursue his advantages, "without ever regarding the wounded." In one of his own letters on a subsequent occasion, we find Marlborough declaring it "most scandalous" to leave behind "cannon and wounded men;" and in the present instance Mr. Coxe affirms that

"The humanity displayed by the victorious general towards his prisoners, deserves to be recorded for the applause of an impartial posterity. The sick and wounded were lodged in hospitals, and treated with the same care and attention as the troops of the allies. The prisoners were conveyed into Holland with the sympathy due to their misfortune; and supplied with all the comforts which their situation required. To the beneficent example which Marlborough display-

ed on this, as on other occasions, we are indebted for the refined tenderness which has taken place in the intercourse of hostile armies. This virtue extorted the admiration even of the enemy; and a French writer pays a just eulogium to our great commander, for a quality which could not be said to distinguish the chiefs of his own and preceding ages. 'Marlborough always showed the utmost attention to his prisoners, and set the example of that humanity which has since soothed the horrors and calamities of war.' " Vol. II. p. 29.

'The surrender of the chief towns in Brabant, was the immediate consequence of this splendid victory. After having taken Ostend, Menin, and other strong places, it was the intention of Marlborough to close the campaign with the siege of Mons, but the timidity of the Dutch prevented the accomplishment of his design. If this great officer had been permitted to form his own plans, it is probable that the consequences of the battle of Ramillies would have been far more important; but, teased on the one hand by the shortsightedness of Godolphin, who pressed for the siege of Dunkirk, and on the other, by the selfishness of the states general, who wished to strengthen their frontier, he wasted in sieges, the season which, had he been left to his own discretion, he would most probably have employed in more effective enterprises. At the mean time Marlborough was annoyed by appeals from every quarter. The soul and centre of every negotiation, he was addressed on all occasions of difficulty. The emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia were on unpleasant terms, and Marlborough was the successful mediator; Ragotzki and the Hungarian insurgents entreated his good offices; Eugene, from Italy, applied most urgently to him for money and for troops; the duke of Savoy pressed him for assistance; the discontents and variances of the British generals in Spain, were referred to him; and above all, he was incessantly assailed by Godolphin and the duchess, the former of whom derived firmness and decision from

his counsels, while the latter wearied him with her complaints against the queen, the tories, and himself. But we pass over, for the present, the political intrigues carried on in England, that we may follow Marlborough without interruption through the whole of his military career.

‘ At this period, the anxious attention of Europe was excited by the appearance of that eccentric monarch, Charles XII. of Sweden, on a scene of action near enough to make it of the utmost consequence to ascertain his ultimate views. After having dissolved with unexampled intrepidity and ability, the triple alliance formed for the detestable purpose of oppressing his kingdom during the nonage of its sovereign, he had now led his army into Saxony, where, not satisfied with compelling the elector Augustus to comply with the most mortifying terms, he seemed disposed to interfere in the dispute between the emperor and the French. The court of Versailles employed bribery, intrigue, negotiation, in order to procure his assistance, and endeavoured by every possible artifice, to inflame his resentment against the emperor, on account of certain injuries and insults which the Swedish monarch threatened to avenge. Marlborough, whose intelligence seems to have been at once extensive and minute, actually obtained a copy of the secret instructions given to the French agent at the court of Charles. Under these circumstances, he determined on paying a visit to the camp of Alt Ranstadt, and after having made some necessary arrangements at the Hague, and a stay of a few hours at Hanover, he reached the place of his destination, on the 24th April, 1707. “The Swede,” highly gratified by this concession, received his visitant with the utmost graciousness, and appeared to be perfectly captivated by his polished manners, and insinuating address. The outlines of this negotiation are found in all the histories of the time, and its details, though highly interesting, are too minute for insertion here. Mr. Coxe has given a very animated and authentic narra-

tive of the facts, with a judicious selection from the original correspondence, which he closes with a very curious paper, containing the account, transmitted to Louis XIV. by Besenval, the French agent, under a feigned name and character, of the negotiations between Charles and Marlborough. It must, however, be remarked, that though the skill and address of the English negotiator were beyond all praise, much of his success must be ascribed to Charles's obstinate determination to inflict a signal vengeance on the Tsar of Muscovy; a settled purpose to which he made all other plans and enterprises whatsoever give way.

'The campaign of 1707, was every where disastrous to the allies. The fatal battle of Almanza wrecked their army in Spain; the expedition to Toulon failed under Eugene and the duke of Savoy; Villars obtained advantages on the Upper Rhine; and Marlborough was prevented by the Dutch, from undertaking any effectual enterprise against Vendome. Still, in the exhausted state of the French monarchy, the mere protraction of the war was deeply felt, and this circumstance, together with the elevation of spirit produced by their successes, was sufficient to induce the generals and the government of France, to concur in determining to hazard a battle as soon as the proper season for action should return. They commenced the campaign with a well concerted movement, which gave them possession by surprise of Bruges and Gnent, and enabled them to invest Oudenard. But Marlborough, who had been joined by Eugene, immediately entered upon a series of bold offensive movements, and anticipated the enemy in the very camp which they intended to occupy in order to cover the siege. The battle of Oudenard, which followed this manœuvre, appears to have been most ably fought under the direction of Marlborough. Its success was greatly due to the intrepidity and ability of the aged Overkirk. Vendome, though thwarted by the waywardness of the duke of Burgundy, discharged the duties of a gallant

soldier and able officer, and when all was lost, made a noble effort to effect the retreat in order; but his courage and skill were ill seconded, and he was left, by the other generals, to exert himself almost singly, at the head of a small and disheartened body of troops, to interpose a barrier between the routed army and its pursuers. At this crisis Marlborough made a proposition which, in our opinion, does him higher honour than any of his actual victories, and which clearly shows, that had he been left unshackled, and free to avail himself of the full resources of his powerful mind, he would have anticipated many of the grand innovations of modern times, instead of creeping feebly on from siege to siege, and wasting time and power without any adequate result. He proposed to mask Lille, and advance at once into the heart of France. This plan, if successful, would probably have finished the war in a single campaign; but it was impossible to persuade the Dutch to listen to it, and even Eugene was staggered at its boldness. The siege of Lille was, at length, determined on; and even this enterprise, such was the strength of that fortress, and such the means provided for its defence, was considered as hazardous, and treated by the French generals with contempt and ridicule. The various and complicated movements which were made by the different armies, are distinctly described by Mr. Coxe, with the help of major Smith, an officer on whose scientific knowledge Mr. C. has depended for the accuracy of all his military details; they are however at once too multiplied and too minute for insertion here. The conduct of the siege was undertaken by Eugene, while Marlborough, with the covering army, watched the strong force under Vendome and Berwick, which was manœuvring for the relief of the town. The French generals made every preparation for an engagement, but the allies were too strongly posted, and the intention was relinquished. Of all the actions which occurred during the siege, the battle of Wynendale, fought by general Webb, was the

most important. With scarcely half the number of his opponents, he made good his ground, and effectually protected a convoy, the loss of which would have saved Lille. After the trenches had been open sixty days, the town surrendered on the 23d October; but the citadel held out till the 9th December, when Boufflers marched out with the honours of war, having signalized his bravery and skill by one of the most pertinacious defences on record. In the meantime, the allied generals had forced, nearly without loss, the passage of the Scheldt, and compelled the French army to retreat.

‘ The negotiations of 1709, were rendered abortive by the extravagant demands of the allies. The general history of this transaction is sufficiently known; and notwithstanding the feeble endeavour of Archdeacon Coxe to rescue the memory of Marlborough from the imputation of desiring to prolong the war, we apprehend that the charge is completely established by the facts even as stated by himself. The “perfidy” of Louis has nothing to do with the question; it is enough that Marlborough deliberately, and without employing his paramount influence at home to procure any mitigation, made, and insisted upon, proposals to the plenipotentiaries of France, which it would have been folly and infamy to have accepted. There were more bases than one, on which a secure and advantageous peace might have been concluded, had Marlborough, Godolphin and the whigs, been in earnest.

‘ In the campaign of 1709, Eugene and Marlborough were opposed by Villars, who was not, however, able to prevent them from taking, after a long and sanguinary siege, the strong town of Tournay. After the surrender of this fortress, the allies by a series of able manœuvres, passed without loss the lines of the Trouille, and invested Mons. We shall not attempt to detail the complicated movements which preceded and attended the bloody and unprofitable victory of Malplaquet. If the advice said to have been given by Marlborough, to attack Villars on the 10th of September, had

been acted upon, much would have been gained by preventing the French from entrenching, but the counsel of Eugene prevailed, and the engagement was deferred till the following day. The conflict was desperate, and the carnage horrible. The generals on both sides conducted themselves with the utmost courage and ability, and the troops rivalled each other in valour and devotedness. Villars was wounded and carried from the field; upon which, Boufflers, finding that all was in disorder, determined on a retreat, which was effected with great regularity. The loss in both armies was dreadful. That on the side of the confederates greatly exceeded that of the French, who were intrenched; but much of it appears to have been owing to the headstrong and uncalculating impetuosity of the young prince of Orange. The following passage from the letter of a "French officer of distinction, written soon after the battle," shows the opinion of those who were qualified to judge even on the enemy's side.

“The Eugenes and Marlboroughs ought to be well satisfied with us during that day; since till then they had not met with resistance worthy of them. They may say, with justice, that nothing can stand before them; and indeed, what shall be able to stem the rapid course of these two heroes, if an army of 100,000 of the best troops posted between two woods trebly intrenched, and performing their duty as well as any brave men could do, were not able to stop them one day? Will you not then own with me, that they surpass all the heroes of former ages.” Vol. II. pp. 98, 9.

‘The conferences of Gertruydenberg having proved ineffectual, principally in consequence of the ambitious views of Austria, the campaign of 1710 began on the part of the allies, with the siege of Douay, which they took, notwithstanding the efforts of Villars to relieve it. The remainder of this year was signalized by the capture of several important towns, but without any action on a large scale. The interval between this and the following campaign, was most dis-

astrous to Marlborough. The merited disgrace of his turbulent wife, and the complete success of the intrigues of Harley, placed him in a most difficult and harassing situation. He continued, however, to retain the command, and in 1711, entered upon his last campaign, which, though no great victory distinguished it, yet, by its entire success in its main objects, against the ablest general France had possessed since the deaths of Turenne and Luxembourg, gave the last finish to his military reputation. Villars, during the cessation of active hostilities, had employed himself and his army in the construction of those formidable lines, which interposed a final barrier between the allies and France, and of which he publicly boasted, as the *ne plus ultra* of Marlborough. These entrenchments the English general had determined to pass; and after a series of manœuvres of a most complicated and extraordinary kind, by which he completely baffled and deceived the French marshal, he carried his army across the lines, with scarcely the loss of a man. Villars endeavoured to retrieve his fortune by tempting his opponent to battle on most disadvantageous terms, and Marlborough was urged even by the Dutch deputies to accept the challenge; he declined, however, and wisely, for the strength of the French position was such as to make the attempt madness. The movements connected with the siege of Bouchain, which was taken under the very eye of Villars, are very ably and distinctly described in this work, to which we must refer our readers. This was the last achievement of Marlborough as a general, for the secret negotiations which had been for some time pending between France and England, were now so far advanced, as to render further operations inexpedient.

‘ A particular inquiry into the state of parties during the splendid military career of Marlborough, a subject intimately connected with his public character, and with that period of English history to which his life belongs, would lead us

into an extensive field of observation, and be more than we can attempt in the compass to which we must restrict ourselves. A brief sketch of the vicissitudes of party, and of the consequent vexations which Marlborough was doomed to experience, is all we can venture to give. Archdeacon Coxe has certainly furnished many valuable illustrations, and has given the clew to several important trains of investigation; but we should have been better pleased, had he exercised somewhat more decision and impartiality. The conduct of the whigs, on great occasions, was dignified and patriotic; but the behaviour of the *Junta* was, in not a few instances, arbitrary and oppressive. Nor were they on all occasions steady to their principles; for we find them occasionally disposed, if not absolutely to reject them, at least to leave them in abeyance; as for instance, when they consented to sanction and support, in direct opposition, in their professed attachment to civil and religious liberty, the bill against occasional conformity, in compliance with the tory prejudices of lord Nottingham. On these, and on some other points, we expected to derive more information from the present work, than we have found it furnish. We have already adverted to the queen's decided attachment to the tories. It is probable that she was withheld only by the strong influence of Marlborough, and the moderation of his principles and of those of Godolphin, from absolutely identifying herself with her favourite party, at the very outset of her reign. Circumstances connected with the personal ambition of Marlborough, and with his views of continental politics, aided by the partialities of the duchess, induced him to make common cause with the whigs, whose liberal principles and independence of feeling, were as little to the taste of Anne, as their want of accommodation to her habits and wishes. The petulance and dictatorial spirit of the duchess of Marlborough, very soon excited the disgust and alienated the affections of her mistress; and her introduction of Mrs. Masham, a woman of subtle, intriguing, and yet apparently compliant spirit, to the service of Anne, pre-

pared the way, by the contrast between the engaging manners of a grateful dependent, and the capricious demeanor of a haughty favourite, for the final disgrace of the latter. By a singular coincidence, the duke had introduced Harley to public service, and seems to have been duped nearly to the end, by the plausible and insinuating manners of that accomplished deceiver. Repeatedly was he warned of his error; most urgently was he pressed by the whigs to crush the rising intriguer, before his influence should become too strong to be dispossessed; he clung to him to the last, and lent him his patronage almost up to the very point when he was reduced to the humiliating necessity of intreating the protection of his former dependent. Harley was an accomplished man and a dexterous negotiator, but he seems to have been a very miserable statesman. By a long train of subtle and scarcely tangible intrigues, he obtained the direction of the affairs of England, and the favour of Anne; but he soon found that his post was untenable, unless by some decided measure. With a view, therefore, to fix himself at the helm, as the pacificator of England, he entered on clandestine negotiations with France, and concluded the ignominious treaty of Utrecht. St. John, a man of stronger intellect, and of a more determined character, felt that a severe reckoning would sooner or later be exacted for that injurious measure, and boldly stood the hazard of a desperate cast. He procured the dismissal of Harley, and was in the very act of forming a Jacobite ministry, with the view of altering the succession, and enthroning the pretender, when the death of Anne terminated his projects, and sent him into merited exile.

‘The dismissal of the whigs was the signal for a series of persecutions directed especially against Marlborough, whose high military and political character rendered him the great object of dread to the new administration. The commissioners of public accounts charged him with having illegally

appropriated large sums of money to his own use; a charge which he repelled by showing that they were admitted perquisites, and by the still more satisfactory allegation, that the money had been spent in procuring private intelligence. In great part, at least, this defence was correct; for the extent, the minuteness, and the accuracy of his secret information, were altogether astonishing, and could never have been obtained without the sacrifice of immense sums. Without, however, regarding his defence, the ministry and their adherents assailed him with every weapon of offensive warfare: public prosecutions were commenced against him, the light troops of the party annoyed him with scurrilous lampoons, and no calumny was too gross to swell the catalogue of his imputed crimes. He did not conduct himself in this crisis, with quite so much dignity as the friends of his fame might be disposed to wish; at length, however, finding no abatement of the tempest, he wisely determined on leaving England, until some change should admit of his safe return. He was received on the continent with the highest honours; people and magistrates, garrisons and governors, vied in their demonstrations of respect and admiration to the illustrious exile. He resided for some time at Frankfort, but afterwards removed to Antwerp. During his continental residence, he was fully occupied with an active correspondence with his friends in England, and with the court of Hanover; and, when the death of Anne, and the firmness of the whigs, had defeated the machinations of Bolingbroke, he returned to his native land with the resumption of his honours, and the restoration of his credit. It ought not, however, to be omitted, that he had adopted the resolution of returning, previously to the queen's decease, for the express purpose of aiding in the struggle which was expected to ensue.

‘Marlborough’s latter years were embittered by disease and domestic calamity. The loss of two daughters, of whom one, the countess of Sunderland, appears to have been a pious

and accomplished woman, and the other, the countess of Bridgewater, is described as "mild, affectionate and dutiful," must have wounded him deeply, and no doubt, accelerated the paralytic seizure which soon after affected him. He recovered from this attack, and from subsequent ones, and retained a considerable portion of mental vigour to the last; but it is deeply to be regretted that he was persuaded to lay aside his first intention of resigning his active employments. His speech was affected, and as his appearance and demeanor must have exhibited, though, perhaps, under a mitigated aspect, the marks of disease, it was the effect of a degrading selfishness in those who had influence over the debilitated mind of the general, that he was allowed to carry into public life, the shattered relics of his noble form and his nobler mind. He died on the 16th of June, 1722, at the age of seventy-two.

'The character of Marlborough may be sufficiently traced from our preceding remarks, we shall however, indulge ourselves in a very few additional observations. He was, beyond all doubt, one of the most extraordinary personages that have ever appeared upon the public stage. Majestic and of finished beauty in his person, dignified and polished in his manners and address, of tranquil temper, and of consummate self-command, he was fitted by nature for a negotiator and a courtier. His calm and prompt good sense, and his peculiar clearness of head, qualified him for the high post of command, and for the enormous mass of business which he was able to manage and execute apparently with perfect ease; for he was, in fact, the captain-general and the prime minister, not of England only, but of Europe. His epistolary correspondence alone might seem to have been the business of a diligent life. As a statesman he was, in general, actuated by large views, just discrimination, and a vigorous policy. But it was as a military commander that he was most distinguished. He appears to have been a consummate master

of stratagem; his marches, his choice of positions, his manœuvres in the field, were of the most admirable kind. We do not recollect that he ever gave his antagonists an advantage over him by an error in this respect. In action he was cool and intrepid, observing with vigilant eye the evolutions of his enemy, and availing himself with promptitude and decision of every misjudged movement. In a word, though opposed by the best generals and the best troops of the most military nation in Europe, he was *always* successful. He never fought a battle which he did not win, nor besieged a town which he did not take. He baffled the genius and enterprise of Villars, and when he retired from the command, the ground that he had gained was rapidly lost, though guarded by the skill and valour of Eugene.

‘Of his faults we have no wish to speak; but the better features of his character are favourably delineated in the following extract from Mr. Coxe’s last chapter.

“He was equally regular and exemplary, in the performance of moral and religious duties. The principles, which he had imbibed in his early years, were indelibly impressed on his mind; and in courts and camps, as well as in domestic life, he exhibited the same pious confidence in the protection of an over-ruling Providence. He was a firm believer in the truths of the Christian Revelation, and zealously attached to the doctrines of the established church. Hence, he was punctual in his attendance on the divine offices, a frequent communicant, and manifested a devotion, fervent, but calm, and no less remote from enthusiasm, than from indifference.

“Though brought up in a licentious court, and seduced, in his youth, by evil example, he maintained an inviolable respect for the nuptial union. From the time of his marriage with the object of his affections, he resisted every temptation of courts and camps; and, amidst all the calumnious imputations which have been heaped on his memory, the ag-

gravated malice of his political adversaries has never thrown the slightest suspicion on his conjugal fidelity.

“ The operation of these principles was not only felt in his own conduct, but extended their influence to his family, and to all who were subject to his authority. He was never known to utter an indecent word, or to give an example of levity. He even severely reproved those who presumed to offend his ears with loose expressions, and resented them, both as a personal affront, and as an act of immorality. He discountenanced the slightest degree of intemperance or licentiousness, and laboured to impress his officers and troops with the same sense of religion which he himself entertained. Divine service was regularly performed in all his fixed camps, both morning and evening; and, on Sundays, sermons were preached, both in field and garrison. Previous to a battle, prayers were offered up at the head of each regiment; and the first act, after a victory, was a solemn thanksgiving. By these means, aided by his own example, ‘his camp,’ to use the words of his biographer, who served under him, ‘resembled a quiet, well-governed city. Cursing and swearing were seldom heard among the officers; a sot and a drunkard, was the object of scorn; and the poor soldiers, many of them the refuse and dregs of the nation, became, at the close of one or two campaigns, tractable, civil, sensible, and clean, and had an air and spirit above the vulgar.’ ”

Vol. III. pp. 658—660.

‘ Archdeacon Coxe has conferred an obligation on his country, by undertaking and executing his meritorious task. The immense mass of Blenheim papers, and every accessible source of information published and manuscript, have been laboriously investigated, and the general results are fairly stated. We cannot indeed compliment Mr. C. on having produced a work of high intellect and originality; we cannot rank his volumes with the Greece of Mitford, and the British India of Mill; nor can we conceal our wish that

he had given us more of his materials, and rather less of what is his own. But he has preferred a different plan, and notwithstanding what appear to us the minor defects of the work, we are disposed rather to feel grateful to him for what he has done, and, on the whole, done well, than to cavil at his omissions. Portraits, plans, maps, and other graphic illustrations, respectably executed, are liberally interspersed.'

ART. IV.—*An History of Muhammedanism*: comprising the Life and Character of the Arabian Prophet, and Succinct Accounts of the Empires founded by the Muhammedan Arms: an Inquiry into the Theology, Morality, Laws, Literature, and Usages of the Muselmans, and a View of the present State and extent of the Muhammedan Religion. By Charles Mills. Second Edition.

[From the British Critic.]

THE public favour has been deservedly bestowed on this learned, elegant, and compendious history of Muhammedanism; which gives a comprehensive yet succinct account of the various empires founded by the Muhammedan arms in Asia, Africa, and Europe; and which includes instructive notices of the theology, morality, laws, literature, and usages of the Moslems. It will bear comparison with Salaberry's *History of the Turks*.

Mr. Mills' work is divided into seven chapters, of which the first examines the life of *Muhammed*; for such is the orthography preferred by the author for the name of the Arabian prophet. To a geographical description of Arabia, succeeds a character of the inhabitants, of their habitual polity, and of their original or early religion. Here Mr. Mills overlooks, we think, a principal cause of the eventual success of Islamism, from the want of having formed to himself a clear idea of the religion of the ancient Persians; concerning which, Hyde has long been suffered to mislead Europe. Sir John

Malcolm, also, not having duly studied the Hebrew records, has not known how to illuminate the twilight of early Persian history. The religion of the Parthian empire, from the time of Cyrus to the Macedonian conquest, may be said to have been identical with that of the Jews, since Ezra has preserved a genuine proclamation of Cyrus, in which this great fact is solemnly recorded; and the book of Esther narrates with complacency that proscription of the idolatrous priesthood which Herodotus terms the *Magophonia*, which was accomplished with the concurrence of Daniel under the sway of Darius, and which was anniversarily celebrated at the temple of Jerusalem, under the name of the feast of Purim. Palestine was to the Persians what Tibet was to the Chinese, the independent sovereignty, the holy land of the priests of the empire. If the Zoroaster of Greek be the Ezra of Jewish history, so is the Zerdusht of the Parsees. No images were tolerated in the Persian temples; a perpetual fire, or shekinah, was fed on the altar; and an emblematic reverence for the sun, and for light, formed a part of the ritual. Still this was not, as Hyde pretends, fire-worship or sun-worship, but a worship of the one only living and true God, the God of Abraham, of Moses, of Daniel, and of Ezra. It may be true that the Persians adored him in his triple capacity of the creator, preserver, and destroyer of all things; and that they had separate names for these capacities, such as Ormuz, Mithra, and Ariman, answering to the Adonai, Jehovah, and Satan of the Hebrews: yet this pantheism was a religion strictly unitarian. When the Greeks conquered Persia, the idolaters, or polytheists, recovered a certain degree of ascendancy there; and the unitarians, or monotheists, though not persecuted with all the bitterness of retaliation, were degraded, were extensively ejected from official situations, and were thus driven to seek an inglorious maintenance in commercial and agricultural pursuits. The hereditary monotheism of these Hebrews followed them every where; and, if they occasionally

neglected the minor ceremonial of the law, they adhered obstinately to circumcision, and to an iconoclastic hatred of images. They tolerated polygamy in the higher classes of society, and became so numerous in several provinces of the Persian empire, especially in Syria, that in many places the monotheists were strong enough to shake off their allegiance to the idolatrous Babylonian sovereign, and to found independent states. Aretas, king of Damascus, and Abgar, king of Edessa, were separatists of this description; and Josephus notices a kind of league which included many others. These petty princes adhered to the Hillelian party of the Jewish priesthood, and were glad to see the influence of the temple exerted to banish troublesome ceremonial observances: in common with the Hillelian Jews, they acknowledged Jesus Christ as a prophet, but as nothing more; and so, at a later period, but in the same spirit, did Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, who appointed Paul of Samosata for her bishop.

When the church of Rome made its great innovations in Christianity by introducing the worship of images, the oriental *Jew-Christians* became indignant, and desirous of standing aloof from such idolatrous profanation. Muhammed saw this, and took up the oriental Christianity exactly where he found it;—with unitarianism for its theology, with circumcision for its initiatory rite, with polygamy for a tolerated practice, with a high veneration for the Jewish scriptures, and with the opinion that Jesus Christ was a human sage, and a prophet of the truth. Thus Muhammed met the traditional creed of all those nations, which were descended from the subjects of the vast Parthian or Hebrew empire; and he was secure of the secret alliance of the monotheists every where, while he permitted to his followers the plunder only of idolaters, and of Lantinized Christians. The custody of the sacred well, which was an hereditary right of the family of Muhammed, might aid him in dictating religious professions to the Arabians: but these his first followers had little of the spirit

of piety, and, like the pindaries of our own time, were a predatory cavalry, accustomed to subsist by overrunning the seats of industry, and equally contented with any interior ally that could supply a pretext for irruption and purchase the irremoveable booty. If these Arabian freebooters were the original proclaimers of the religion of Muhammed, still there was little of conversion and little of faith among the Arabs; the popular, the settled, the enduring basis of his sect is to be sought in the Jew-christians, or Hebrews, properly so called.

Chapter ii. treats of the undivided caliphate, and explains the rise of the Saracenian empire. The invasion and conquest of Persia, and the plunder of Ctesiphon, then its metropolis, though related with oratoric splendor, might have admitted some farther illustration.

The third chapter branches over the history of the divided caliphate, and gives first an account of the caliphs of Spain, then of the caliphs in Africa and Egypt, and lastly of the caliphs at Bagdad. A dissertation on the causes of the success of the Muhammedan arms and religion closes this chapter: but, as we have already observed, the author does not sufficiently allow that Muhammed rather established an extant than bestowed a new creed; he only added his own name, as last in the series, to the successive prophets of unitarianism whose lessons have been collected in the Jewish records. Some concessions dangerous to toleration are made by Mr. Mills, in consequence of his supposing the sword to have accomplished a conversion, when it only removed the impediment to a public profession of the pre-existent faith.

In the fourth chapter, the history of Muhammedanism is pursued among the Tartarian dynasties of princes. The expeditions into Hindustan, the reign of Zinghis-khan and his successors, the empire of Tamerlane, (here the vulgar orthography of the name is inconsistently adopted by Mr. Mills,) the Seljukid dynasties, and the Othman or present Turkish power, are severally traced from their origin to

their consequences. The foundation of the Muhammedan dynasties in Hindustan will furnish an expedient extract, because the ancient history of any province which is become a national appurtenance has claims on the patriotic interest of every Englishman.

‘(A. D. 874.) When the Caliphate of Bagdad was crumbling into ruin, a race of princes, called in eastern history the Dynasty of the Samanides, despoiled the legitimate commanders of the Faithful of some of their valuable territories, and exercised kingly authority over Bokharah, Korasan, a great part of the Persian empire, Candahar, Zabulistan, Cabul, and the mountains of the Afghans or Patans. A Turkish slave, by name Alpteghin, ascended the gradations of honourable offices, military and civil, and in the reign of Abdalmalec, the fifth king of the Samanidan dynasty, was appointed governor of the vast province of Korasan. On the death of his master, he endeavoured to wrest the sceptre from the feeble possession of Mansour, the infant son of the late prince; but the emirs of the country rallied round the throne, and Alpteghin quitted the royal city of Bokharah. To the town of Gazna, situated on the westernmost parts of the Cowmul, one of the numerous rivers which are tributary to the Indus, the aspiring governor and the admirers of his courage and ambition retreated. Mansour strove in vain to terminate his power, and for sixteen years Alpteghin increased his dominions and his fame.* (A. D. 995.) Sabactazin, at once his son-in-law, his general, and counsellor, became also his successor. Although master in Gazna, he was for some time regarded by the Samanides only as the governor of a province. His exact military discipline, and his liberality to officers, gained him the love and admiration of his subjects. He established peace and good order through every part of his dominions, carried his arms and the Muselman faith into

* ‘D’Herbelot, vol. i. p. 203.’

India, destroyed the monuments of Pagan superstition, ravaged the Panjab, and built the town of Bost, and that of Kosdar near the Indus. Nouh, the son of Mansour, treated Sabactazen as an ally, rather than as a subject. The king of Turkestan threatened the extinction of the Samanidan dynasty; but the courage of the Gaznavides supported the throne, and the Turks were driven from the invaded provinces.* (A. D. 997.)

‘On the death of Sabactazin, his youngest son, Ishmael, in pursuance of his father’s wishes, was recognised as king; but Mahmud, who had already distinguished himself in assisting his father in the war with the king of Turkestan, took up arms against his brother, and asserted with effect his right of primogeniture. Mahmud may be considered the first prince of the Gaznavide Sultans, and made a lofty superstructure on the foundation of power which Sabactazin had laid. The kingdom of the Samanides was annihilated, (A. D. 999.) and the public prayers for the family of his ancestors’ masters were blotted from the service-books of the mosque. Irak Persia submitted to his yoke, and even the humble independence of the little territory of Gaur, which, under the descendants of a branch of a Persian dynasty, had long enjoyed tranquillity amidst surrounding calamities, was offensive to his insatiable ambition. In fact, from the Caspian to the Ganges, from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, no tyrant but Mahmud reigned.

‘But it is by this Sultan,† as the founder of the Muhammedan power in India, that our interest is excited. Before his reign, the incursions into this interesting country by other Muselman princes had been few and partial, but the

* ‘De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 156 159.’

† ‘Mahmud was the first Muhammedan prince who bore this name. The previous title had been malek or king. By the application of this title of sultan to Mahmud, a governor of Segistan flattered the vanity of his lord, and saved himself from the penalties of rebellion.’

prospect of plunder inspired the soldiers of Mahmud with courage against the elephants of war, and in twelve expeditions into Hindustan, his conquests far surpassed those of the Macedonian hero. The town of Kinnoge, on the Upper Ganges, the cities of Lahor, Delhi, and Muttra, became his tributaries, and his troops rioted in the spoils of the wealthy kingdom of Guzerat. In the course of his incursions into the west of India, he discovered one of the most splendid objects of Indian superstition. Two thousand Brahmins, and numerous bands of dancing girls and musicians, were devoted to the service of the Pagoda of Sumnaut. The lofty roof of this temple was supported by fifty-six pillars, overlaid with plates of gold, and incrustated at intervals with rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones. One pendant lamp alone illumined the spacious fabric, whose light, reflected back from innumerable jewels, spread a strong and refulgent lustre throughout the temple. In the midst stood Sumnaut himself, an idol composed of one entire stone, fifty cubits in height, forty-seven of which were buried in the ground; and on that spot, according to Brahminical tradition, he had been adored between four and five thousand years. His image was washed every morning and evening with fresh water brought from the Ganges, at a distance of twelve hundred miles. Around the dome were dispersed some thousands of images, in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions, so that in this consecrated place, as in a grand Pantheon, seemed to be assembled all the deities venerated in Hindustan.* The priests invoked, without effect, the wrath of their chief god upon the disturber of their worship. The blood of fifty thousand worshippers were shed in vain for the defence of their idol. A treasure of money and jewels, equal to ten millions sterling, was offered by the Brahmins for the preservation of its sanctity; but at the command of Mahmud, whose religious zeal was shocked at being thought a merchant of idols, the

* 'Mauricé's *History of Modern Hindustan*. vol. i. p. 295.'

statue was broken into pieces, and a quantity of diamonds and rubies, far greater than the ransom proposed by the crafty priests, fell at his feet. The Gaznavide Sultan treated the Hindus with all the rigour of a conqueror, and with all the fury of a converter, not only plundering treasures, but demolishing temples, and murdering idolators throughout his route.* His enthusiasm for Muhammedanism was as strong as that which inflamed the breasts of the primitive supporters of that religion; and the title of Protector of the Faithful, which the Bagdad Caliph Caderbillah gave him, by way of investing him with the kingdom of Samania, was well merited by his bigotry and intolerance. The stern martial virtues of the conqueror, and his excellent qualities as prince, were degraded by the low passion of avarice. In the hour of dissolution, he commanded his spoils of India to be brought before him. Lamentations fell from his tongue, and tears started into his eyes, on beholding the baubles: he offered not to bestow, what it was beyond his ability to keep, and his attendants were compelled to remove them from his sight, as their view served but to increase the anguish of his death.†

‘ During the reign of his son and successor Masoud, the Gaznavide empire became more potent, by the addition of the remainder of Persia, (except the province of Fars,) and of the territory of the Bowides, on the banks of the Persian Gulf. But the Seljukian Tartars, whose history will hereafter be detailed, availing themselves of a predatory expedition of Masoud into India, conquered from him Korasan. The loss of this province was soon succeeded by the total dismemberment of the Gaznavide empire, A. D. 1160. Kosrow Shaw, the last prince of this dynasty, was deposed by Houssian Gauri, a native of Gaur, who became possessed of

* ‘ Orme’s Preliminary Dissertation to his Coromandel War, p. 9. vol. ii. 4to. London. 1763.’

† ‘ D’Herbelot, vol. ii. p. 517—525. De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 160—173. Dow’s Hist. Hindustan, vol. i. p. 34—99. 4to. edit. 1768.’

a large portion of the western part of the Gaznavide empire, while the descendants of Mahmud retained for a few years the provinces contiguous to both shores of the Indus. (A. D. 1184.) But the Gaurides wrested the sceptre of these territories from their weak possessors, and established the seat of Muhammedan power in India at Lahor. The Gaur Sultans adopted the religious zeal, as well as the military spirit of the Gaznavides. Muhammed Gauri plundered Benares, (1194,) the chief city of the Indian religion, and destroyed the idols with circumstances of cruelty worthy of a successor of Mahmud.* (1205.) The death of this emperor occasioned a new division of the Gaznavide empire. Eldoze retained the Persian part, and the Indian territories were enjoyed by Cuttub, the friend and servant of the late emperor. By Cuttub, the Patan or Afghan dynasty in Hindustan was founded. The Afghans originally inhabited the mountainous tract lying between India and Persia, or the ancient Paropamisus. Cuttub, prior to his elevation to the throne, had carried his arms, under Muhammed Gauri, into Agimul and Guzerat. Until the completion of his conquests, Lahor was his capital, but the necessity of fixing the imperial residence near the centre of his dominions, occasioned his removal to Delhi. His successor, the emperor Altumsh, conquered the vast province of Bengal, and established in it the Muhammedan religion. The Persian or Tartarian parts of the Gaznavide or Gaur territories were, at this period, added to the empire of Zingis Khan.”†

* ‘ Benares was regarded as the principal seat of Braminical learning; and we may conclude that about this period the Sanscrit language, which was before the common language of Hindustan, began to decline in purity, by the admixture of words from that of the invaders. In the course of time new dialects, mixtures of the vernacular idioms and the language of the conquerors, were formed, and the Sanscrit, in its original purity, existed only in ancient writings. Rennell’s Memoir to his Map of Hindustan, Introd. p. 47.’

† ‘ Rennell’s Memoir, Introd. p. 48. et seq.

Chapter v. contains an epitome of the Koran. The greatest demerits of that book consists in the permission of polygamy, and in the intolerance which it commands against other sects: but, on the other hand, humanity, pecuniary probity, and justice, are strongly, repeatedly, and efficaciously enforced. We will copy on this head a short remark of the present author:

‘In regulating the pecuniary transactions of his followers, Muhammed endeavoured to reconcile the virtues of humanity and justice. Creditors are exhorted to forbearance and even forgiveness of obligations, but debtors are threatened with future punishment who wantonly violate their faith; and Muhammed refused to pray over those who had died without leaving means of paying their debts. He also excepted debt and hypocrisy from the general sanctification obtained by the killing of infidels.* Contracts should be made in writing in the presence of witnesses. All deceit in selling is forbidden, and the vender must announce any defect in his goods. Each party should submit to a trifling loss rather than occasion it to the other. Ali said “the Prophet has forbidden

* ‘The general rule in Moslem countries respecting imprisonment for debt seems to be, that when a claimant establishes his right against a solvent debtor, the magistrate is to order the debtor to render it, and in case of non-compliance imprisonment must be awarded. The debtor’s property may be sold by the magistrate’s order for payment of the debt. The Cadi appears to have a discretionary power with respect to the period of imprisonment. Hedaya, xx. i. xxxv. 3. A debtor who has established his indigence cannot be imprisoned for debt. Some lawyers contend that imprisonment is legal, if the debtor has, for vicious purposes, wasted his means. The plea of indigence will not be allowed if the debtor professes any art or calling. He may be compelled to work in discharge of his debt. A number of the lawyers (*ductores dubitantium*) say, that an indigent person, on being sued and threatened with imprisonment, may lawfully deny the debt, and even swear to the non-existence of it, with a mental reservation and intention of discharging it when in his power. Baillie, p. 194.’

bargaining with a person whose poverty compels him to sell his goods at a low rate: humanity dictates the relief of him." An option for the performance of a contract exists with both parties till either of them has left the place of commerce. The purchaser having ultimately concluded his contract should repeat his profession of faith, and glorify God. The traditions insist on the propriety of liberality, and mutual mild dealing. Merchants of honesty and veracity will be raised at the last day with the prophets.'

The sixth chapter treats rather negligently of the literature and sciences of the Saracens and Turks. The digits, called Arabic, are, according to Villoison, mere simplifications of the form of the first nine letters of the Greek alphabet, and were already in use at Alexandria in the time of Marcus Antoninus.

In the seventh and concluding section, Mr. Mills sketches the present state and extent of the Muhammedan religion. It seems to be silently undergoing an internal change: the doctrines of anti-supernaturalists are extensively embraced by the educated classes, and a sort of deism, or religion of nature, is superceding the former faith.

ART. V.—*Account of the Guaycuru Indians*: from the third volume of Southey's *History of Brazil*, recently published at London.

'THERE were, at the close of the eighteenth century, three divisions of the Guaycuru nation;—one on the western side of the Paraguay; one on the eastern, below the Fecho dos Morros, being those who made peace with the Spaniards of Asumpcion, through the ex-priest; and the third, above the Fecho, who are, according to their own intention in the treaty, allies of the Portuguese; but according to its letter, acknowledged vassals of the Portuguese crown. These branches are declared enemies each of the other, although they are of the same origin, speak the same language, and observe the same

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customs. The Brazilian branch is divided into seven* great hordes; who are generally upon friendly terms, and perfectly resemble each other in all their habits and institutions. Each of these hordes is so numerous, that the assemblage of its tents is said to deserve the name of a large town. The tents are arranged in straight wide streets, and are of the simplest structure: mats, made of flags or rushes, laid upon poles, almost horizontally in dry weather, but with more inclination when it rains; and when the rain is heavy, and the matting begins to bag with the weight of water, they brush it off from within; but many have two or three mat coverings, one above the other, with intervals between, as a better protection both against rain and sun. They always encamp upon the banks of a river or great lake, and remain there as long as they find sufficient food for themselves and their cattle, which are very numerous; for they despise agriculture, and live chiefly upon meat. They have profitted thus much by their intercourse with the Portuguese, that they rear every kind of domestic bird and beast, which has been introduced from Europe into America; and they treat them all with such kindness, as well as care, as to render them remarkably tame. Neither stirrups nor saddle of any kind are in use among them; their bridle is made of the *acroata*, one of the aloes of the country; and they are so incessantly on horseback, that their legs are deformed by it. Yet they are said not to be good horsemen, only that they know how to manage the horse at full speed; . . which, indeed, is all the horsemanship they need. Their mode of breaking-in the animal is peculiar to themselves: it is done in the water, almost up to the creature's belly, that he may have less power to struggle, and that the rider may have less to fear from a fall. The war-horse is never used for any other occasion, and never sold; but, upon the death of the master, it is killed at his grave.

* 'These seven hordes are called, Chagoteo, Pacachodeo, Adioeo, Atiadeo, Oleo, Laudeo, and Cadioo.' (*Cazal*. 1. 276.)

In their wars against the Portuguese, they made use of their horned cattle; and, collecting them and the horses into a great herd, drove them furiously upon the enemy. Even the Paulistas were afraid of such an attack; and their largest parties dreaded to meet the Guaycurus in the open country; the only resource was, to get into the woods, and climb the trees; then their muskets gave them the advantage. As the Guaycurus, like the savages of South Africa, made this use of their cattle in war, so, like the same people, they had trained them to obey a whistle, by which, at any time, they could assemble and direct them.

‘As soon as the surrounding pasture is exhausted, the horde removes. Presently their tents are struck,—all are in motion: the large town which was standing in the morning disappears; what was then swarming with life and population, is left as a desert behind them; and before night, the town rises upon the banks of another water, and the wilderness is filled with flocks and herds. They sleep upon the ground, on hides, and cover themselves with skins, or with a matting made from the inner rind of certain trees; or with the garments which the women wear by day, and which are large enough to serve for coverlets. The men wear nothing, except a short philibeg, which used to be of cotton, but since their intercourse with the Portuguese, is ornamented with beads of various colours. The women wear a wider petticoat, without which they are never seen from their earliest infancy; and over this a garment, or rather web of calico, is wrapt about them, from the neck to the feet, which is laid on in such heavy folds, that it is said to render the breasts pendant by its weight and pressure: the colour of the cloth is red, with stripes of black and white. They have trimmings of shell work, beads on the arms and legs, silver bugles for a necklace, and a plate of silver* on the breast. Formerly

* ‘Where they should have obtained this silver, is a curious question: Francisco Alves supposes that it has existed among them from the time of

these ornaments were made of wood, and the lower classes still make them of that material. The men adorn their heads and limbs with feathers: they wear mouth-pieces of wood or silver, according to their means, and silver ear-rings in the form of a crescent. They eradicate their eye-brows and eye-lashes, tattoo their faces (a fashion, by which the women also deform themselves), and stain the body in patterns with the juice of the *urucu* and *jenipapo*. The young men shear their hair after their own fancy; the elder to a prescribed form, resembling the tonsure of the Lay-Franciscans: the women also wear only a broad circle on the head. Unlike most of the Brazilian tribes, these Guaycurus are not polygamists: it is not to be supposed, that either law or custom renders their marriages indissoluble; the parties separate if they choose; but such separations are said to be unfrequent. Their connubial attachments are represented to be both durable and strong; and they are tenderly fond of their offspring, when their accursed customs suffer them to be born. The children are charged with showing little natural love towards their parents: cautious, as we ought to be, not to oppose mere opinion to what is asserted as fact upon fair authority, it may yet be affirmed, that this cannot be generally true; for it is impossible that tenderness in the parent should not, generally, produce correspondent, though not equal affection, in the child. Each horde has one great cemetery,—a long piece of ground, covered like a gallery along its whole length with mats: under this roofing every family has its own burial place staked off. The weapons, and other personals of the deceased, are laid upon his grave; and if he were distinguished in war, these things are decked with flowers and with feathers, which are annually renewed. The body of a

Alexo Garcia's expedition, and is part of the spoil which he brought from Peru, and which remained among the tribes by whom he was cut off. Is it not more likely to have found its way from Potosi, passing from one possessor to another, sometimes by fair means, sometimes by foul?

young woman is attired for her funeral as it would have been for her marriage, and carried on horseback to the cemetery: the spindle, and other articles of her use are laid upon her grave. Upon the death of a relation, or a slave, the household change their names.

‘ The distinction of ranks is strongly marked in this nation: the true Guaycurus form but the smallest part. They call themselves Joage* and are divided into classes, the first of which is a nobility, proud to excess of their birth. The men have a title equivalent to captain; and their wives and daughters also are addressed by an honorary prefix. There are not many of these nobles, and no supremacy among them. The second class, which is much more numerous, consists of the Guaycuru people, all of whom are soldiers, from father to son; but the great bulk of the population is composed of slaves and their descendants; for with them, one chief motive for making war is, to keep up their numbers by this system of half adoption. They spare no adult males, and sometimes kill the women; but the women are sometimes carried away prisoners, and the children always. When it happens that they bring away an infant without its mother, the wife of the captor takes the babe to her breast, whether she have a babe of her own at the time or not; for they have† discovered that a secretion of milk is excited by the action of the infant’s lips, even in women of more than fifty years of age, who have

* ‘ This name is so like that of Jaadge, by which the Lenguas called themselves, that, notwithstanding the opinion of Hervas, it affords a strong presumption in favour of the assertion of Francisco Alves, that the Lenguas are a branch of the Guaycurus; but when he identifies the latter with the Chiriguanas, he is certainly wrong.’

† ‘ The editor of the *Patriota* (3. 4. 29), seems to intimate a disbelief of this; but many instances have been known. A well-authenticated one is mentioned by Baxter, in his *Own Life and Times*. (*Lib. 1. Part 1. p. 46.*) and the far more extraordinary fact, that milk has thus been produced in the breast of a man, is authenticated by the indisputable testimony of Humboldt.’

never been mothers. The chief, who makes the largest addition to the horde by such captures, obtains the greatest reputation. The state in which these prisoners grow up has only the name of slavery, for they are never called upon to perform any compulsory service. But the inferiority of their rank is considered to be so great, that it is deemed disgraceful for a chief to take a captive for his wife; and the son of a Guaycuru woman by a prisoner, would despise the woman who bore him, as one who by such a connexion had dishonoured herself. The Chamococos sell their children to the Guaycurus for knives and axes.

‘ When they are going to war, they choose for leader the youngest of the nobles who is able to bear arms; and the elder chiefs accompany him as his counsellors. On the day of their outset, the young warrior sits upon his bed, while they who are to serve in the expedition collect round him, and one by one pay their respects to his mother, and to the woman who nursed him; and these women, with tears, and in impassioned tones, remind them of the famous actions of their forefathers, and exhort them rather to die than show themselves unworthy of their ancestry. They have a singular notion, that a shirt made of the skin of a jaguar is impenetrable, even to a musket ball,—a superstition, which seems to indicate that they have not often been opposed by good marksmen. When a youth kills his first enemy, or brings home his first prisoner, his mother makes a feast, at which the guests inebriate themselves with mead almost as potent as brandy. They make war upon the Cuyarabas, or Coroados, as the Portuguese call them, who roam about the sources of the Mambaya, a river which falls into the Parana; upon the Cambebas, or Pacaleques, about the sources of the Imbotatiu,—a race who flatten their heads like the old Omaguas of the Orellana; and upon the Caupezes, a burrowing tribe, who are said to form for themselves natural but monstrous aprons, by stretching down, from earliest infancy the skin of

the groin. They have also children from many other tribes* among their slaves, if that appellation may be applied to persons who feel none of the evils of slavery, and are subject to none of its restraints.

‘They believe in an Intelligent Creator of all things; but they offer him no worship, and seem not to regard him either with love or with fear. The invisible power, to whom they apply for a knowledge of what is to befall them in sickness, or in war, is supposed to be an inferior Deity, named Nanigogigo; and their jugglers, who are called Unigenitos, pretend to communicate with him. There is a small kind of hawk, of which the native name is Macauham; its cry resembles that of a man in distress, and serves as an indication of weather, for those who are accustomed to it: but the Guaycurus suppose that it fortells coming events; and when it is heard the Unigenito is put upon hard duty for the following night. He passes it in singing and screaming, imitating the notes of various birds, shaking a *maraca*, and calling upon Nanigogigo to interpret to him the augury of his unintelligible messenger. With the same ceremonies these knaves pretend to inquire whether the sick are to recover, and if an expedition will meet with good or ill success. The only appearance of a religious ceremony among them, is an annual festival of many days at the first rising of the Seven Stars; for at that season the cocoa of the Bocayuva palm begins to be ripe, upon which they probably relied for food before the introduction of European cattle. It is said that no belief of retribution after death is combined with their notions of a future state. They hold that the souls of departed chiefs, and Unigenitos, enjoy themselves among the stars, while those of the common people wander about the place of their interment. The Guaycurus seem to have caught their superstitious practices and opinions from many

* ‘Francisco Alves enumerates the Goaxis, Quanas, Guatos, Cayvabas, Bororos, Ooroas, Cayapos, Chiquitos and Chamococos.’

different tribes,—a natural consequence of the manner by which the population of their horde is supplied: it is therefore remarkable, that with this aptness for adopting the tenets of others, they should not during their long and close connexion with the Payaguas, have learnt to look for retributive justice after death.

‘Mead is their only fermented liquor. Both sexes employ themselves equally in preparing their food, which is very much dressed; they eat very leisurely, and make many meals in the day. It is affirmed that they never suffer from indigestion, that scorbutic complaints are never seen, and sudden death unknown among them,—assertions which may be admitted to prove, that these things occur much less frequently than in Europe. In every kind of illness they observe extreme abstinence, taking no food whatever, except a very small portion of the pith of the Caranda palm. There are blind people among them, but none that are bald. Their complexion is of a darker tint than copper; they are rather above the middle stature of Europeans, well made, (were it not that their legs are injured by the great use which they make of the horse and the canoe,) muscular, and capable of making prodigious exertions, and enduring almost incredible fatigue. The women have large coarse features, which, with the additional and needless deformity of tattooing, renders them altogether* ugly, to the eye of an European. Their teeth are irregular, and discoloured by the constant use of tobacco; for even the women are never without a quid in their mouth; but they preserve them to extreme old age. The men girdle themselves with a cord upon their expeditions, and if food is

* ‘Francisco Alves says they have none of the simple graces of Milton’s Eve. It is gratifying to an Englishman to find the commandant of a Portuguese fort, in the heart of South America, thinking of Milton. I believe no nation would display more literary industry and ambition than the Portuguese, if the restrictions by which they are so miserably fettered were withdrawn.’

scarce, they deaden the sensation of hunger by drawing it tighter round them: in this, as in a belt they carry a short club on the right hand, and a large knife on the left. The women soon become lean and haggard, and both sexes are excessively wrinkled in old age. The odd variety of a male and female dialect prevails among them, as among many American tribes. For some purposes they can communicate by whistling, as well as by words. They have names for the planets and more remarkable stars, and for the cardinal points.

‘ The women have many excellent qualities. They are compassionate, and so humane towards all creatures under their care, that it is said, the domestic animals of the Guaycurus could not be treated with more kindness if they were in a Banian hospital. They deserve also the praise of industry and ingenuity: they spin, they weave dexterously, they make chords, girdles, mats, and pottery; they evince intelligent curiosity, as well as pleasure, at the sight of any thing new, and examine it attentively in all its parts. There are men among them who affect the dress and manners of women, and are called *Cudinas*, the name by which all emasculated animals are designated. The first conquerors found such persons in Florida, and in the country about the isthmus of Darien; so widely extended in the New World was this abomination, which has its root perhaps in one of the oldest corruptions of heathen worship. Clear nights are their favourite time for sport. Their diversions are of a rough character. The men toss the boys in the large mantles of the women, which serve as blankets for the operation. The women hold hands in a ring, while one runs on the outside; the amusement is for those who are in the circle to put out their feet, and trip her up as she running; she who falls then takes her place in the circle, and the one who threw her runs round and round till her career is stopt in the same violent manner. They ride races, in which the women engage as well as the men. Other sports are to imitate the action

of birds, carrying a wing in each hand; to leap like frogs; and pretend to run at each other like bulls, upon all fours. Sometimes the women have regular scolding matches, as a sort of dramatic amusement; and she who rails with greatest fluency, and has the most copious vocabulary of abuse at command, is applauded by the by-standers. Quarrels among them are decided by boxing; they are said to be good boxers; and they never have recourse to weapons in their disputes with each other.

‘They have neither music nor songs; yet they manifest a lively sensibility to sweet sounds: they listen to a Portuguese song with exceeding great delight: and if the air be melancholy, it always draws tears from the women. They are faithful in their dealings, although they account treachery not only lawful, but laudable in war. It does not appear that any attempts are making for the conversion of this remarkable people: but if the Portuguese evince no desire to improve them, by the best and surest means, they are no longer guilty of injustice and oppression towards them. There is land enough for both; and long before the Brazilians can replenish half of what they already possess, the Guaycurus, who are now doing their work in diminishing other tribes by their incessant hostilities, will themselves disappear from Brazil, as they have disappeared from the Lower Paraguay. The wicked practice of abortion* is destroying them faster than war, and more surely than pestilence. Already it has so reduced their numbers and their strength, that the Guanas upon the Imbotatiu have shaken off their old vassalage, and placed themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, as a people independent of their former lords.’

* ‘Francisco Alves knew twenty-two chiefs, none of them under forty years of age, all of them married, and only one of them having a child, and he but one. (3. 4. 21.) From this fact, he infers that the custom, though they say it is an old one, cannot long have obtained among them, or they must have been extinct before this time.’

ART. VI.—*Poems, descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery.*

By John Clare, a Northamptonshire Peasant. Published at London.

THIS is a very extraordinary instance of the triumph of talent over untoward circumstances. The poet is a real peasant, poor, uneducated and friendless; much more destitute of the means of improvement, than Bloomfield, Burns, or Hogg; and yet the author of verses, which neither of the three need to have blushed for as his own.

Clare was born in 1793, and as soon as he was able to work was obliged to assist in the laborious drudgery of a farm, at which employment he has been constantly busied, with the exception of a few months passed as an enlisted soldier in the militia.

The little volume that he has put forth, has not found its way across the Atlantic; the following specimens, and the accompanying remarks and explanations are taken from the Quarterly Review.

‘The flowers the sultry summer kills,
Spring’s milder suns restore;
But innocence, that fickle charm,
Blooms once, and blooms no more.

The swains who loved no more admire,
Their hearts no beauty warms;
And maidens triumph in her fall,
That envied once her charms.

Lost was that sweet simplicity,
Her eye’s bright lustre fled;
And o’er her cheeks, where roses bloom’d,
A sickly paleness spread.

So fades the flower before its time,
Where canker-worms assail,
So droops the bud upon the stem,
Beneath the sickly gale.’—p. 26.

‘ For the boisterous sports and amusements which form the usual delight of village youth, Clare had neither strength nor relish; his mother found it necessary to drive him from the chimney corner to exercise and to play, whence he quickly returned, contemplative and silent. His parents—we speak from knowledge—were apprehensive for his mind as well as his health; not knowing how to interpret, or to what cause to refer these habits so opposite to those of other boys of his condition; and when, a few years later, they found him hourly employed in writing—and writing verses too,—“the gear was not mended” in their estimation. “When he was fourteen or fifteen,” says Dame Clare, “he would show me a piece of paper, printed sometimes on one side, and scrawled all over on the other, and he would say, mother, this is worth so much; and I used to say to him, ay, boy, it looks as if it warr!—but I thought he was wasting his time.” Clare’s history, for a few succeeding years, is composed in two words, spare diet and hard labour, cheered by visions of fancy which promised him happier days: there is an amusing mixture of earnestness and coquetry in his invocation “to Hope,” the deceitful sustainer, time immemorial, of poets and lovers.’

‘ Come, flattering Hope! now woes distress me,
Thy flattery I desire again;
Again rely on thee to bless me,
To find thy vainness doubly vain.

Though disappointments vex and fetter,
And jeering whisper, thou art vain,
Still must I rest on thee for better,
Still hope—and be deceived again.’—p. 122.

‘ The eccentricities of genius, as we gently phrase its most reprehensible excesses, contribute no interest to the biography of Clare. We cannot, however, regret this. Once, it seems, “visions of glory” crowded on his sight, and, he enlisted at Peterboro’ in the local militia. He still speaks of

the short period passed in his new character, with evident satisfaction. After a while, he took the bounty for extended service, and marched to Oundle; where, at the conclusion of a bloodless campaign, his corps was disbanded, and he was constrained to return to Helpstone, to the dreary abode of poverty and sickness. His novel occupation does not appear to have excited any martial poetry; we need not therefore "unsphere the spirit of Plato," adequately to celebrate the warlike strains of the modern Tyrtæus.

'The clouds which had hung so heavily over the youth of Clare, far from dispersing, grew denser and darker as he advanced towards manhood. His father, who had been the constant associate of his labours, became more and more infirm, and he was constrained to toil alone, and far beyond his strength, to obtain a mere subsistence. It was at this cheerless moment, he composed "What is Life?" in which he has treated a common subject with an earnestness, a solemnity, and an originality deserving of all praise: some of the lines have a terseness of expression and a nervous freedom of versification not unworthy of Drummond, or of Cowley.'

'And what is Life?—An hour-glass on the run,
A mist, retreating from the morning sun,
A busy, bustling, still-repeated dream,—
Its length?—A minute's pause, a moment's thought.
And happiness?—A bubble on the stream,
That in the act of seizing shrinks to nought.

And what is Hope?—the puffing gale of morn,
That robs each flowret of its gem,—and dies;
A cobweb, hiding Disappointment's thorn,
Which stings more keenly through the thin disguise.

And what is Death?—Is still the cause unfound?
That dark, mysterious name of horrid sound?
A long and lingering sleep, the weary crave.
And peace?—Where can its happiness abound?
No where at all, save Heaven, and the grave.

Then what is Life?—When stripp'd of its disguise,
 A thing to be desir'd it cannot be;
 Since every thing that meets our foolish eyes,
 Gives proof sufficient of its vanity.
 'Tis but a trial all must undergo;
 To teach unthankful mortal how to prize
 That happiness vain man's denied to know,
 Until he's call'd to claim it in the skies.'

'That the author of such verses (and there are abundance of them) should have continued till the age of twenty-five unfriended and unknown, is less calculated perhaps to excite astonishment, than that devotedness to his art, which could sustain him under the pressure of such evils, and that modesty which shrunk from obtruding his writings on the world. Once, indeed, and once only, he appears to have made an effort to emerge from this cheerless obscurity, by submitting his verses to a neighbour, who, it seems, enjoyed a reputation for knowledge "in much matters." Even here his ill-fortune awaited him; and his muse met not only with discouragement but rebuke. The circumstance is however valuable, since it serves to illustrate the natural gentleness of the poet's disposition. Instead of venting his spleen against this rustic Aristarch, he only cleaves to his favourite with greater fondness.

'Still must my rudeness pluck the flower
 That's pluck'd, alas! in evil hour;
 And poor, and vain, and sunk beneath
 Oppression's scorn although I be,
 Still will I bind my simple wreath,
 Still will I love thee, Poesy.'—p. 124.

"Though need make many poets," it was not need that excited Clare to write poetry, though its importunity finally drove him "to trust his little bark to the waves." Without a shilling in his pocket, with a father and mother aged and

decrepit at home, who rather required his aid than contributed to alleviate his condition, with a frame so feeble by nature, as to sink under the toil to which he had all his life submitted, he at length—and on the impulse of the moment—bethought himself of endeavouring to obtain some small advantage from those mental labours which had at various seasons so deeply engaged his mind. “I was working alone in the lime-pits, at Ryhall, in the dead of winter, 1818,” these are his own words, “when knowing it impossible for me to pay a shoemaker’s bill of more than three pounds, having only eighteen-pence to receive at night, I resolved upon publishing proposals for printing a little volume of poems by subscription; and at dinner-time I wrote a prospectus, with a pencil, and walked over to Stamford at night, to send it by the post to Mr. Hanson, a printer at Market Deeping.” Mr. Hanson had seen some of these poems in manuscript; and it is due to him to say that he was the first who expressed a favourable opinion of their merits, and thus induced Clare to venture upon this formidable measure. This prospectus was accordingly published together with the following “address,” which we give as a sort of literary curiosity.

“The public are requested to observe that the TRIFLES humbly offered for their candid perusal, can lay no claim to eloquence of poetical composition, (whoever thinks so will be deceived,) the greater part of them being juvenile productions, and those of a later date offsprings of those leisure intervals which the short remittance from hard and manual labour sparingly afforded to compose them. It is hoped that the humble situation which distinguishes their author will be some excuse in their favour, and serve to make an atonement for the many inaccuracies and imperfections that will be found in them. The least touch from the iron hand of criticism is able to crush them to nothing. May they be allowed to live their little day, and give satisfaction to those who may choose to honour them with a perusal, they

will gain the end for which they were designed, and their author's wishes will be gratified."

' Booksellers, whether metropolitan or provincial, are, it has been said, rarely deficient in shrewdness. The proposals fell into the hands of one of the fraternity in Stamford, and suggested to him the probability of the publication affording a profitable speculation. No time was lost in visiting Helpstone; and, for the immediate deposit of a few pounds to meet his present need, and the expectation of receiving a few more at a distant period, Clare was content to abandon his subscription and to part from the volume before us. The original chapman soon transferred his bargain to the actual publishers, by whom the poems have been given to the world in a manner creditable to themselves, and liberal, we have reason to believe, as to the author.

' Looking back upon what we have written, we find we have not accomplished our intention of interspersing with our narrative such extracts as might convey a general character of Clare's poetry,—we have used only such as assorted with the accidents of the poet's life, and the tone of them has necessarily been somewhat gloomy. The volume however, offers abundant proofs of the author's possessing a cheerful disposition, a mind delighting in the charms of natural scenery, and a heart not to be subdued by the frowns of fortune; though the advantages which he might have derived from these endowments have been checked by the sad realities which hourly reminded him of his unpromising condition. Misery herself cannot, however, keep incessant watch over her victims; and it must have been in a happy interval of abstraction from troublesome feelings that Clare composed "the Summer morning," the result, we believe, of a sabbath-day walk; the lively pictures of rural occupation being introduced from the recollections of yesterday, and the anticipations of the morrow. We have only room for a few stanzas of this little poem, which is gay and graceful, possess-

ing the true features of descriptive poetry, in which every object is distinct and appropriate.

'The cocks have now the morn foretold,
The sun again begins to peep,
The shepherd, whistling to his fold,
Unpens and frees the captive sheep.
O'er pathless plains at early hours
The sleepy rustic gloomy goes;
The dews, brush'd off from grass and flowers,
Bemoistening sop his hardened shoes.

While every leaf that forms a shade,
And every flowret's silken top,
And every shivering bent and blade,
Stoops, bowing with a diamond drop.
But soon shall fly those diamond drops,
The red round sun advances higher,
And stretch'd o'er the mountain tops
Is gilding sweet the village-spire.

'Tis sweet to meet the morning breeze
Or list the giggling of the brook;
Or, stretch'd beneath the shade of trees,
Peruse and pause on Nature's book.
When Nature ev'ry sweet prepares
To entertain our wish'd delay,—
The images which morning wears,
The wakening charms of early day!

Now let me tread the meadow paths
While glittering dew the ground illumines,
As, sprinkled o'er the withering swaths,
Their moisture shrinks in sweet perfumes;
And hear the beetle sound his horn;
And hear the skylark whistling nigh,
Sprung from his bed of tufted corn,
A hailing minstrel in the sky.—

ART. VII.—*Miscellaneous Articles.*

Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men. By the Rev. Joseph Spence. London 1820. 8vo. p. 302.

This is an amusing collection of scraps. The following extracts will suffice for a specimen.

A little after Dr. Young had published his *Universal Passion*, the Duke of Wharton made him a present of 2000*l.* for it. When a friend of the duke's, who was surprised at the largeness of the present, cried out, 'What! two thousand pounds for a poem!' The duke smiled, and said it was the best bargain he ever made in his life, for it was fairly four thousand.—*Mr. Rawlinson.*

When the Doctor was very deeply engaged in writing one of his tragedies, that nobleman made him a very different present. He procured a human skull, and fixed a candle in it, and gave it to the Doctor, as the most proper lamp for him to write tragedy by.—*The same.*

Sir Isaac Newton, a little before he died, said, 'I don't know what I may seem to the world; but as to myself, I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the sea-shore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me.'—*Ramsay.*

'Tis not at all improbable that Sir Isaac Newton, though so great a man, might have had a hankering after the French prophets. There was a time, I can assure you, when he was possessed with the old fooleries of astrology, and another when he was so far gone in chymistry as to be upon the hunt after the philosopher's stone.—*Lockier.*

When the Bishop of Rochester was in the tower, upon its being said in the drawing-room, 'What shall we do with the man?'—Lord Codogan answered, 'Fling him to the lions.' The Bishop was told of

this, and soon after in a letter to Mr. Pope, said that he had fallen upon some verses by chance in his room, which he must copy out for him to read. These were four extreme severe lines against Lord Cadogan.

By fear unmov'd, by shame unaw'd,
Offspring of hangman and of bawd!
Ungrateful to the ungrateful man he
grew by,

A bold, bad, boist'rous, blust'ring,
bloody booby. *Anon.*

Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.
(From an English Newspaper.)

The distribution of the rewards of this Society took place yesterday, for the first time, at the Argyll Rooms, and, perhaps, never since the Institution has been extant, was the ceremony graced with so much rank, fashion, and beauty.—It has almost become a hacknied source of pride, that the benevolence of this country excells all others; and while we contemplate the many proofs which corroborate the fact, in the variety of establishments for serviceable purposes, we acknowledge none which more effectually contributes to the public good than this, and most sincerely do we annually hail the result of the exertions of its members, who have, for a series of nearly seventy years, strengthened a chain, the first link of which came from the fostering hand of Mr. William Shipley—a name which will ever be recorded in the page of science with respect and gratitude.—He was the founder of the institution, and to him especially are the most important improvements, within the various branches which the Society recognizes, to be attributed.

Soon after twelve o'clock, his royal highness the duke of Sussex, president, entered the room, and though the company seemed absorbed in the contemplation of the dif-

ferent performances of the candidates in *Polite Arts*, which were appended to the walls, and those of *mechanics*, which covered the table, a universal expression of joy beamed in the countenances of all. His royal highness, whose urbanity of disposition cannot be too highly estimated, most gracefully—we may say, benignantly bowed to the company as he passed to his chair, and the business of the day now commenced.

Mr. Aikin, the secretary, here read a most classical and highly interesting exordium on the rise and progress of the institution, very particularly referring to its commencement, and occasionally energetically adverted to the great advantages which society had not only already received by its exertions, but which would be continued, and he trusted enhanced in their value, by the labours of the day.

The premiums were then presented in the order inserted in *THE MORNING HERALD* of yesterday.

His royal highness, on several occasions, observed the exertions of the candidates, and was particularly complimentary to those (and we observed several) who had been before him on former occasions in the same characters.

To Mr. J. Perkins, who was honoured with three of the society's medals, for inventions of the first consequence, he was more than usually happy. The candidate alluded to, is a most ingenious American, and his royal highness observed, that as president of the society, he highly participated in the national liberality which had evinced itself on the occasion; that the reward here bestowed, proved, that men of science were happy to recognize and encourage the same qualification, be it from what country it might.

To Mr. Wm. Harley, another ingenious mechanic, previous to handing him the premium, he observed he felt the highest gratification in

meeting him there, and he knew him to be one of the most clever and honest workmen in the world.

His royal highness eulogized the company for their attendance, felicitously observing, that the society had gained a great point, if the distribution had ensured the smiles of ladies, as those gentlemen, in all probability, who were not already members, would serve the institution by becoming so, in compliment to their feelings.

A well selected band of music occasionally relieved the ceremony, and those gentlemen who officiated as managers, did every thing to contribute to the gratification of the day.

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Reflexions Politiques sur quelques Ouvrages et Journeaux François concernant Hayti, par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, Secrétaire du Roy, &c. &c.

It is above thirty years since the finest feelings of this nation were roused to indignation, at the injustice and cruelty perpetrated by the slave-traders on the negro-race. The politician declared, that inattention to the cultivation of Africa was neglect of our own commercial interests; and the philanthropist, that our apathy, with respect to the civilization of its inhabitants, was a positive neglect of the precepts of our divine religion. The British parliament, in consequence, passed some acts to ameliorate the condition of the wretched blacks, in their horrid passage to our colonies; and our colonial legislatures enacted regulations, for their better treatment in slavery.

After twenty years consideration we abolished the Slave Trade, and most of the civilized nations in the world have followed the example, except Spain and Portugal, which, resisting every moral, religious, and humane appeal, still continue this execrable traffic.

However, we purchased from

those relentless governments, at an expense of nearly a million of pounds, treaties to restrict their merciless subjects from that Slave Trade north of the equator. We have also expended, in the last ten years, on ill executed schemes, for civilizing and instructing the captured negroes, another million of pounds; and we have lavished on visionary and useless expeditions to explore the interior of Africa, in the last five years, at least half a million of pounds more, without the slightest calamitous disasters attended their progress, and prospect of success; complete has been their termination; but the plan was so injudiciously concerted, that its fate was evident from the commencement, except to those who were partakers of the expenditures; in addition to all this, we lavish on ill-judged, unhealthy, and unprofitable settlements on the western coast of Africa, above two hundred thousand pounds a-year, independent of the expense contributed by the visionary plans for creating settlements at the Cape of Good Hope; but we are instructed from high authority, that these expenditures must be estimated 'benevolent prospects of speculative humanity.' Now we shall only presume to hint how profitably some of these immense sums might be employed *on projects of real humanity* at home, without discussing the inability of this nation to continue such an unprofitable and profligate waste of her treasure; but we fervently hope, that no further expenditure of this sort will be suffered, particularly as we know from the best authenticated documents, and the most uncontradicted statements, that the number of slaves carried from the coast of Africa is more extensive than ever—that the miseries these unfortunate beings endure are greatly increased—that the cultivation of the African soil is very little extended—that the civilization of the inhabitants is not in the least improved—and that the

profits attending the Slave Trade are so largely augmented that there is no chance of a diminution of the calamity, nor a hope of extending the benevolent intentions of Great Britain to Africa, until Portugal shall be obliged totally to abandon the trade, by the whole civilized world constituting every species of traffic in slaves, *piracy*; and that every person taken in the trade, or convicted in aiding and abetting the traffic in any way, shall be visited with all the pains and penalties attached to pirates.—*Month. Mag.*

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New Works, announced. At Columbia, S. C. 'Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Constitutional court of South Carolina, by H. J. Nott and D. L. M'Cord, Counsellors at Law.

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M. Carey and Son, Philadelphia; are about to publish a new edition of the Reports of Vezey, jr. and Vezey and Beames, with references to American decisions, by E. D. Ingraham, Esq. in 21 vols. Also a new edition of Chapman's Elements of Therapeutics and Materia Medica. And a second American edition of Lavoine's Atlas.

A new Medical and Philosophical Journal is projected under the editorship of professors Chapman and Patterson of the University of Pennsylvania.

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The 7th No. of the Sketch Book is in press, and will be published about the middle of the present month, by Haly and Thomas, New York, and M. Thomas, Philadelphia.

They have likewise in press the third volume of Salmagundi, which will complete the second series.

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J. Maxwell has in press the 2d vol. of Otis' Translation of Botta's History of the American Revolution, which will be published in October.